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NEW BRUNSWICK'S AGE OF HARMONY
THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR JOHN HARVEY

W. S. MacNUTT

ON December 23, 1847, the *Loyalist* of Saint John published a remarkable editorial. The Orange Order had fallen into disgrace for the part which it had played in the riots of that year and the *Loyalist*, whose organ it was, had no favour for the governing authorities of the colony. The editor must have been in a retrospective frame of mind for the editorial was a comparison of Sir William Colebrooke's administration with those of his two predecessors. The six years of his régime had been the Reign of Smoothery. Provincial society was remarkably prone to emulate the mannerisms of its rulers and for six years, early hours, cold-water societies, the rubbing of hands, and cold, over-strained politeness had been in fashion. The simple and true maxims of those statesmen of transcendent qualities, the English Whigs, had been promulgated with a smooth tone and manner, though, for the most part, they had not been applied. It all caused the editor to reminisce upon an earlier age when lavish expenditure and boisterous mirth had prevailed, when amusements had been Balls, Billiards, and Brandy rather than Soirées, Sugar-Cakes, and Syrup, when it had been fashionable to feast, revel, and swear, and when fractious spirits had been propitiated at the shrine of Bacchus. This had been the Age of Harmony, the administration of Sir John Harvey. The title will serve as well as any for this paper.

The career of this able soldier and administrator has been generally regarded with favour by Canadian historians. A hero of the War of 1812, a proponent of the cause of the tenants on Prince Edward Island, a competent tactician in Newfoundland, the Governor of Nova Scotia whose privilege it was to introduce the practice of responsible government to the North American colonies, he was a colonial governor of the more admirable type, with a prescience for the future rare among them. Almost invariably he had his public with him. His handsome and cordial exterior, his sanguine temperament, his sureness of his own judgment and of his ability to persuade his superiors gave that impression of capacity which caused Sydenham, when his New Brunswick popularity was at its highest, to refer to him as "a pearl of civil governors." But

the simplicity of things at Fredericton during Harvey's régime was apparent rather than real. It was perhaps too much to expect that the province whose politics had so recently given so much concern to the imperial authorities should suddenly become a sheep-fold. Harmony, the word he so often employed, may have signified a legitimate objective, but even Sir John could not be all things to all men. When he arrived, in June of 1837, the situation was a highly favourable one. But it was a time when British colonial policy had not clarified to such an extent that support could be given to programmes of reform and ideas of action. So far as the domestic affairs of the province were concerned it was to be Harvey's role merely to maintain a situation which, for the British Government, had become temporarily satisfactory. The tortuous Maine boundary dispute was to provide probably the only blemish upon a career which was otherwise uniformly successful.

The advent of Harvey to New Brunswick signalized the triumph of the party which for years had been working for the removal of the principal grievance of the province, the control of the Crown Lands by an irresponsible commissioner. Indeed he was the instrument chosen by Glenelg to put the surrender of the Crown Lands to the Legislature into effect and this alone assured him of an extraordinary degree of popularity. Bills were passed to prohibit the alienation of the Crown Lands by sale, except in clear cases of occupation, the amount of land to be sold in each case not exceeding one hundred acres. The objectives of the timber trade, the halting of the policy of sale and the preservation of the Crown domain as an area which could be cheaply exploited by annual payments of low stumpage rates, were secured.¹ "The old settlers of New Brunswick view the waste lands as the natural inheritance of their children."² As a consequence of the surrender and of the great material prosperity which prevailed the revenues at the disposal of the Legislature were doubled. As Harvey reorganized his Executive Council by including members of the Assembly the feeling was general that all the ills of the province had been healed. Amidst an atmosphere of such general satisfaction it is not surprising that ideas of further innovation in government should be alien to the members of a legislature who for five years had conducted so strenuous a campaign and had finally triumphed. Under such happy

¹According to later dispatches of Sir William Colebrooke the Crown Lands were pillaged by the timber interests during Harvey's régime. P.A.C., C.O. 188/202, Colebrooke to Stanley, Feb. 27, 1843.

²Remarks by Peter Pivot, the *Saint John Weekly Chronicle*, Nov. 9, 1838.

circumstances innovation was unnecessary and harmony might be realized.

In caustic terms the *Durham Report* mentioned not only the abuses of constitutional procedure in the provinces of British North America by executive branches of government but abuses by colonial legislatures as well. The hoary system of initiation of the expenditure of public monies by legislative committees could not truly be described as an abuse of the British Constitution, for it was based on procedure in the legislatures of the colonies prior to the American Revolution. On the other hand it could not lend itself to flattering descriptions. It was "the abominable system" of which Sydenham complained in his dispatch from Halifax during the summer of 1840. Legislative excesses were probably most deep-rooted in the Atlantic provinces. Certainly they were most prolonged there for the terms of the loan tendered by the British Government to the united province of Canada in 1840 required the adoption of the British method of appropriating and expending public monies. By the old system the Legislature was preoccupied with parochial affairs. The root of the evil lay in the absence of municipal institutions, "the foundations of Anglo-Saxon freedom and civilization." In New Brunswick the struggle of the Legislature to maintain the initiation of money grants was coupled with a resistance to the incorporation of counties and parishes. The member of the House of Assembly, in effect, was a little tyrant of the fields who, in virtually all matters of a public nature within his own constituency, need fear no other influence, provincial or local. The idea of municipal incorporation, not yet familiar in New Brunswick, suggested only direct taxation. Harvey's successor was to be the recipient of what was probably the best description of the system in general terms: "Experience in all countries shows that there is nothing which tends more to a corrupt and lavish expenditure than the application of public money to local objects by a popular assembly whose individual members have each their own and their constituents' objects to promote and where there is too much temptation to each to support the extravagance of others in the hope of receiving a corresponding aid in attaining his own objects, the public being in the end the sufferer by unduly and wastefully increased expenditure."³

Except for the granting of a permanent civil list of £14,500, no conditions had been imposed by the Imperial Government in exchange for the surrender of the Crown Lands. At the time it had

³P.A.C., C.O. 188/170, Stanley to Colebrooke, June 29, 1842.

been pointed out that there was absolutely no check upon the Legislature in the appropriation of public monies, "that there was no Chancellor of the Exchequer to bring down an estimate." But in his haste to conciliate New Brunswick opinion Glenelg had scouted any suggestion to change the methods of appropriation by strengthening the executive: "It would be the disturbance of a custom to which the inhabitants of New Brunswick are familiarized and attached."⁴ The system of legislative initiative was therefore not only tolerated but enlarged—to flourish with particular exuberance during Sir John Harvey's administration.

Actually during this period there were two rival spheres of government, each of which could function to a great extent independently of the other. The legislative system after 1837 controlled all the public funds of the province, with the exception of the civil list, through the Provincial Treasurer, an officer who resided at Saint John, collected the customs duties at the ports through his deputies, and operated with the barest degree of formal deference to the authority of the Lieutenant-Governor at Fredericton. His name was not on the civil list, but he was appointed by the Legislature and bore no reference whatever to the regular executive establishment of government, never attending meetings of the Executive Council. His name did not appear in the correspondence between the Lieutenant-Governor and the Colonial Office. He disbursed the grants which were passed during the legislative session after long and laborious wrangles of the committees. The method in vogue during Harvey's régime was the nomination by the Speaker of twelve names to the appropriations committee, a member for each county, and the designation of a chairman. This all-powerful committee decided upon the total sum to be expended, generally without reference to any authentic estimate of probable revenue, and apportioned it among the counties. The members for each county then met and apportioned their share to the construction and repair of roads and bridges, to the schoolmasters who frequently were good canvassers at elections, and to various other individuals who were considered to have earned a good turn from government. Generally the total number of grants was over a thousand, ranging in amount from five pounds upwards. The individuals who were given commissions for public works were nominated by members in committee, though in times past the Lieutenant-Governor had sometimes rebelled against this aspect of the system. Several members of the Legislative Council were regu-

⁴*Ibid.*, C.O. 188/164, Glenelg to Campbell, March 2, 1837.

larly on the list. "The consequence is that the Bye Roads Grants are looked upon throughout the country as the members' pocket and popularity money."⁵ The duties of road supervisors could be a profitable sideline for storekeepers or operators in the timber trade who by their system of keeping open accounts and paying labourers "from the shelves" could keep the people of their communities in a permanent state of financial dependence. So deeply rooted was the system that storekeepers made "advances" to labourers on the mere prospect that a legislative grant for a road or a bridge would be forthcoming. If the member of Assembly failed to deliver the commission financial distress would be in store for the disappointed supervisor.

In the work of securing legislative grants for local areas some members were more influential than others, but all contemporary opinions were firm in appreciation of the most influential of all, "the perpetual chairman" of the appropriations committee, "the Chancellor of the Exchequer," the man who took no part in the initial wrangles but whose word was the last in the eventual compromises. This was the member for St. John County, John R. Partelow, "a silent member, a deep thinker, having wonderful tact and a thorough knowledge of human nature . . . he would frame an amendment suitable to all parties . . . the commonest as well as the greatest ever found in John R. a hearty greeting."⁶ Not only was Partelow chairman of the appropriations committee but he was chairman of the audit committee as well. None of the documents relative to the expenditure of the revenues reached the hands of the executive government, which did not know the locations of the roads and bridges that had been constructed and had no power to intervene in any phase of the entire process by which public money was raised and expended. Furthermore, the Legislature provided no organization for inspection and supervision nor any services of technical advice. Measured in terms of shillings and pence the influence of Partelow throughout New Brunswick made the Lieutenant-Governor himself seem a personage of puny significance.

Side by side with the almost omnipotent Legislature was the Executive Council, which, because it was isolated from the collection and expenditure of revenues, was in a position of pathetic weakness. The only means by which it could take a leading place

⁵Letter to the *Chronicle*, Aug. 14, 1840.

⁶Lawrence, J. W., *The Judges of New Brunswick and Their Times* (Saint John, 1907), 501.

in the affairs of the province was to influence the legislators from seats in the Assembly; and Harvey had to a considerable extent anticipated the spirit of the *Durham Report* by introducing to the Council the two men who had led the Legislature to triumph in the struggle for the Crown Lands, Charles Simonds and Hugh Johnston. But confidence and responsibility were fleeting elements in the New Brunswick Assembly. The unity of the party which had fought for the Crown Lands disintegrated at the very moment of their victory. The way in which business was done in the Assembly, the sectional points of view which were decisive in divisions, were inimical to the permanent solidarity of a group or the institution of a disciplined political party. The elevation of these two popular champions to the executive posts led to drastic reductions in their popularity and in their character of watch-dogs of the public purse. To a people who had been schooled in the system of legislative initiative for fifty years the blending of legislative and executive functions seemed alien and oppressive to popular liberties. The tenacious nature of long established institutions brought forth at the outset of the 1838 session an attack upon the speakership of Simonds and an attempt to remove both Simonds and Johnston from their seats in the Assembly. Legislative hegemony could not endure executive interference. Throughout the administration of Harvey, Simonds and Johnston remained the pillars of his system, especially Simonds, "Master Radical turned Governor's Master." But they possessed no control over the Assembly and their influence within it steadily diminished. So far as the development of political parties is concerned the division lists of that body are completely incoherent. Parties existed for the hour. And even the idea of executive cohesion took much time to become acceptable to the people and politicians of New Brunswick.

It is not surprising that a man who prided himself upon his tact and skill in civil affairs should fail to introduce a programme of reform or break a lance upon the tough façade of legislative supremacy. In moments of emergency, as at the times of the Canadian rebellion or the Aroostook War, the Assembly could gratify Harvey by coming forward with generous programmes of financial and military aid. But his position with the Assembly was tenuous and uncertain. They consistently refused to grant money for what could be called provincial rather than local services, for Dr. Gesner's geological survey, for a normal school for teachers, for a lunatic asylum. If they did it would mean that there would be less money which they could disburse in their constituencies. It was idle for

the executive government to contemplate a land and immigration policy or any scheme of provincial development. The wherewithal of progress was kept tightly within the fists of the assemblymen.

It may have been a good system so long as there were expanding revenues and an unrelieved material prosperity. Harmony may have seemed a reasonable goal. In 1836 the revenues available to the Legislature were £83,049. In 1840 they were over £202,000, of which ordinary revenue amounted to £144,000 and the casual and territorial revenue, surrendered in 1837, to £87,000. The figures may serve as a measure of the increased power of the Legislature which popularly but profligately disbursed the money to the four winds. In the first flush of the new régime after 1837 there was so much money available in the provincial coffers that the Government was in the unusual position of being able to lend money to the banks, an arrangement made by Simonds in concert with leaders of the Assembly. The Commercial Bank of New Brunswick, of which he himself was president, received a loan of £10,000. Justification for this act, of a government loaning money to banks, was that the funds were needed to stimulate the trade of the province, though, considering the buoyant state of the New Brunswick economy, pump-priming of this kind seemed redundant. In these prosperous years all of the assemblymen, it seems, were kept satisfied by one expedient or another.

Family bonds imparted emphasis to the cliquish manner in which public business was done. One of the best examples of how important a factor this could be is to be seen in the case of the Bliss estate which was a focus of public attention during Harvey's stay in the province. George Pigeon Bliss, the Receiver-General, had died under sudden and tragic circumstances in 1836 and his accounts had been found deficient to the amount of over £7,000.⁷ His cash assets had been seized and the Crown had proposed to make good the deficiency by the seizure of real estate as the Receiver-General had been one of the largest landed proprietors in the province. For four years the matter remained in litigation but when the Crown finally moved for seizure in 1840 a jury in the Supreme Court threw out the demand in spite of the charge of the judge which was favourable to seizure. When the Crown moved for a trial the second time the Legislature passed an act which protected the real estate from seizure for Bliss's widow. Leading in the movement was Lemuel Allan Wilmot, first cousin to Bliss, still only on the fringe of the governing clique in spite of his good work of

⁷P.A.C., C.O. 188/163, Campbell to Glenelg, May 8, 1836.

1836-7. Associated with him were Johnston, chief executor of the estate and brother-in-law of the deceased, and Simonds who was Johnston's uncle by marriage.* The democratizing process of 1837 had produced a family compact far larger and more closely woven than the irresponsible family compact which had been displaced. Simonds, Johnstons, Robinsons, Chipmans, Botsfords, and Hazens, who had played a leading part in the affairs of the province since its first settlement, could still find a unity of interest in the more enlightened days when democracy was dawning. A high degree of saturnine approval was accorded to the group by the Chief Justice and President of the Legislative Council, the second Ward Chipman. How intensely he could support the system as it functioned in Harvey's time was to be revealed when he so strenuously opposed the attempted reforms of Sir William Colebrooke in 1842.

But from the wreck of the cabal which had been defeated in 1837 there remained a rump of opposition which was to cause Harvey many anxious moments and the existence of which not even he, in his bland and assuring dispatches to the Colonial Secretary, could conceal. The cup of harmony was never really full. These were the four leading office-holders, all senior in service to the Crown and all anxious to undo, if possible, the work of 1837 by which so much of the provincial patronage had been taken out of their hands and thrown to the ebullient democracy in the Legislature. The two most important were William F. Odell, the Provincial Secretary, who had inherited the office from his father in 1812, and Thomas Baillie, his son-in-law, certainly the most execrated of all, who as Surveyor-General was to face the commencement of a tireless inquisition before Harvey's recall. The others were Charles Jeffery Peters, the Attorney-General, and George Frederick Street, the Solicitor-General, who had used all their legal resources to avert the defeat of the old régime and who had continued to fight following the defeat. They had belatedly learned the democratic trick of starting a newspaper, the *Saint John Weekly Chronicle* published by Lewis W. Durant, which, with an increasingly large following, pursued a course of frontal assault upon Harvey and his satisfied supporters in the Legislature. From the beginning Harvey had been aware of their opposition. On the day on which he had first opened the legislature they had failed in the traditional manner to accompany him. Of the four, Odell and Peters were aged and Baillie was under a cloud of charges concern-

*The accounts of the Bliss estate are to be found in *ibid.*, De Lancey Robinson Collection, vol. 16.

ing his conduct in the Crown Lands office. Street was the youngest and at the time probably the ablest of the group. They were entrenched in the Legislative Council where, by their votes, they consistently opposed Harvey and his policies.

The situation represented one of the more delicate problems facing the governors of British North America at the time. If a new system of government were to be worked out on a more popular basis, what of the status of office-holders, many of whom had grown old in the service and who possessed claims of all kinds to the benevolent attentions of both the imperial and colonial authorities? For Harvey the solution had been to exclude them from the Executive Council and from policy-making levels. But still the knowledge that they were working against him was infuriating to a man of his character. It inspired him to the following passionate appeal to Durham which, in Harvey's opinion at any rate, yielded the celebrated dispatch of the same year upon the duration of office:

They prefer the exercise of secret, uncontrolled, irresponsible power, alike indifferent to the good of the colony and the character of its government. . . . With a machinery such as I have endeavoured to describe, have I been compelled to carry on this government ever since my assumption of it. . . . Had it not been for the invaluable services of a Council *selected by myself* and composed principally of those who, as members of the popular branch of the Legislature, were not wholly divested of a remarkable degree of constitutional attachment to that body, for their share of the acts of the Queen's representatives, I must long since have declared to Her Majesty's Government my utter inability to carry on the administration of the affairs of the Province. . . . Give the Governor the absolute nomination of the principal officers of the Government as well as of his Council. . . . This is a humid note, My Lord, but the subject has long occupied my mind. . . . In conclusion I would most respectfully suggest your Lordship to consider this communication as so far of a confidential nature that while I should rejoice in any use which you may think proper to make of it in communication with Her Majesty's Government, it might be injurious to me to be publicly named as the author of a suggestion which would not fail to raise a clamour on the part of those against whom it is directed, or involving a direct invasion of their vested rights.⁹

The concept of a patriot governor who could subdue opposition, unite all parties about him, and lead them along the road to progressive reform can be discerned in the dispatches of Harvey and in his conduct in New Brunswick. By submitting to the system of legislative initiative and by conniving at prodigal expenditure he secured an almost unanimous degree of legislative support. Had

⁹*Ibid.*, Durham Papers, sec. 3, vol. 2, 979, Harvey to Durham, Aug. 7, 1839.

colonial policy been clarified instead of obscured, had he had the powerful authority and resources which Sydenham was to receive in Canada, his effervescent spirit might have surmounted the obstacles which the conservative quality of New Brunswick thought placed in his way. There can be no doubt that the receipt of Lord John Russell's dispatch offered the vista of a programme of reform to which a governor with vastly enhanced powers could lead the colony:

I have by the November mail a dispatch from Lord John Russell carrying out to a considerable extent the views presented to Lord Durham in the letter which I addressed to him in August last of which I read you and Mr. Johnston the copy. By the dispatch now before me the offices of all the heads of the civil departments of the Provinces are placed at my entire disposal. You shall have a copy of it by tomorrow's post and you will I think be of opinion with me that a great reform has thereby been introduced in the constitution of this colony. All the offices of which the term was heretofore regarded as during "life" or "good behaviour" are to be assimilated to that of the Lieutenant-Governor I behold "during pleasure". The action consequent on these enlarged powers will require consideration and I hope you will be up here as early in the ensuing month as may consist with your convenience.¹⁰

Without delay Harvey published his circular memorandum in which he informed officer-holders that he was prepared to make amicable arrangements for their retirement upon pension. It appeared immediately prior to the opening of the 1840 session of the Legislature and had the immediate effect of cowing dissent in the Legislative Council, twelve of whose sixteen members were office-holders. Curiously enough, at this very moment, arrangements were made for the payment of the members of the upper house in consideration for their attendance at sessions. For years the Assembly had refused to agree to remuneration for their confreres of the Council on the ground that they did not possess a mandate from the people. Whatever the transactions *in camera* may have been, they were later described by Colebrooke in the light of a sinister conspiracy. By those who dared to speak or write of it openly the circular memorandum was regarded as a bullying ukase. It was swallowed, alleged the *Chronicle*, "in a spirit of meekness"; and harmony had been achieved at the price of the independence of the

¹⁰*Ibid.*, De Lancey Robinson Collection, vol. 17, Harvey to Charles Simonds at St. John, Dec. 16, 1839. Harvey and Sir Colin Campbell were in agreement upon this interpretation of the dispatch. "I agree with you that Lord John Russell's dispatch of 16 Oct. was intended to strengthen the hands of the Governor but my House of Assembly look upon it as granting Responsible Government which their debates clearly show." P.A.C., Sir John Harvey's Letterbook, Campbell to Harvey, Feb. 27, 1840.

Legislative Council.¹¹ It was claimed that Sir John, in his more convivial humours at Government House, had told his advisers that he himself had been the real author of the famous dispatch.¹²

But the snake had been scotched, not killed. The official clique were to carry on their opposition in underground fashion and the *Chronicle* was to wax bolder and sharper in its criticism of the régime. Sir John Harvey, like Sydenham, was his own prime minister and his person and conduct could be very directly identified with his Government. The economy cry could be an effective one and it was not difficult to connect the Lieutenant-Governor with the reckless expenditure of his legislative cohorts. "The Governor may butter the House and the House may butter the Governor back again, but depend upon it the country pays for the sauce and pays directly through the nose."¹³ Officials, road contractors, Legislative Council, in the veiled opinion of the *Chronicle*, had all been bought, but so also had been Sir John Harvey. The Legislature certainly was generous in its treatment of the popular Lieutenant-Governor. At the time of his arrival his salary had been reduced on the new civil list by £500 but the Legislature had made up for the deficiency. Between 1837 and 1840 over £9,000 was expended by the Legislature upon the maintenance and furnishings of Government House and it was alleged that, through the management of the contractor, James Taylor, a member of the Assembly, Sir John had profited handsomely. In 1840 a motion by Partelow to pay drawbacks on the duties on the wines drunk at Government House was withdrawn but only after it had been given considerable adverse publicity. Even the sponsors of "the system," declared the *Chronicle*, considered that this was going too far. It might seem reasonable to suppose that Harvey improved his financial position by making of Government House a social centre for members of the Assembly and accepting their benevolences in return. He frequently complained to the Colonial Secretary of the inadequacy of his salary but the fleshpots of New Brunswick probably yielded some compensation.

This kind of criticism could not continue indefinitely without drawing official retaliation. On February 28, 1840 the *Chronicle* published a letter signed by W. which carried the personal attack upon the Lieutenant-Governor to an unprecedented degree. It was alleged that he had used Lord John Russell's dispatch to force the

¹¹The *Chronicle*, March 9, 1840.

¹²*Ibid.*, Feb. 28, 1840, "Another New and Improved Constitution."

¹³*Ibid.*, March 6, 1840.

resignation of Thomas Baillie, the Surveyor-General, whose private affairs had very recently added to his public disrepute, and that he was attempting to fill this highly salaried position by appointing his son-in-law and aide-de-camp, Captain Tryon. The letter further alleged that an agreement had been made between Baillie and Tryon to bring about this objective and that Harvey was planning to place two of his sons in New Brunswick offices.

Here was an issue upon which the powerful legislative party could readily seize and Harvey, prompted by the indignation of his supporters but rather against his own judgment, permitted an action of libel to be instituted against the publishers of the *Chronicle*. Lemuel Allan Wilmot, "that inflated bladder of wind," and Partelow were the members who apparently provided most of the prompting. Certainly they seem to have regarded the occasion as one by which old scores with the *Chronicle* could be evened. However great a patriot Wilmot may have been he was a supporter of the privileges of Parliament rather than of the liberties of the press as his persecution of Pierce of the *Miramichi Gleaner* in 1837 had shown, an affair which had resulted in various forms of public discomfiture for himself, not the least of which was a horsewhipping publicly administered on the streets of Fredericton.¹⁴ After a summer of tension, in which public sympathy for the *Chronicle* steadily became more evident, the case came to trial on October 27 and to the consternation and surprise of Harvey and his supporters the verdict was "not guilty." In rendering an account of the matter to the Colonial Office he suggested that the Court had prejudiced the jury in favour of the defendant.¹⁵ "In order to the full understanding of the case however it is necessary that your Lordship should be informed that it had its origins in bitter party feeling on the part of the official and Tory faction against the liberal members of the Assembly and Executive Council and that the attack was intended to be made against them rather than against me, the object being, if possible, to separate me from my political friends and supporters." Fredericton, he went on to say, was the headquarters of the official party, and their influence, owing to their private possessions, was very great.

¹⁴This incident is referred to on several occasions in communications to the *Chronicle* in 1840. The horsewhipping is alleged to have been administered by a man named Wetmore. *Vide* John Gape's letter of May 8, 1840.

¹⁵"The Judge in his charge to the Jury said 'If from any ambiguity of language or in mercy to the defendant they thought it was not intended to traduce Sir John Harvey they must then say so and the defendant must be taken to be innocent and His Excellency had not been defamed.'" P.A.C., C.O. 188/201, Harvey to Russell, Nov. 26, 1840.

The jury had been dismissed from six in the evening until nine in the morning, "during which time they were living in public houses in the town."¹⁶

This was the kind of attack which a lieutenant-governor who identified himself so closely with the dominant party in the Legislature had to endure in New Brunswick at this uncertain period when constitutional affairs were in a state of transition. It was Colebrooke who later said that a lieutenant-governor could amicably deal with his legislature only by concurring in a system of corruption. This is what Harvey may have done. But Sydenham has been admired for doing the same in Canada as a means to attaining his ends. What were Harvey's ends in New Brunswick is not clear except for two things. He wanted an increase in his own power so far as the executive frame of government was concerned. And there can be no doubt that he was genuinely anxious to work in concert with the majority of the Legislature. Of the refinements and subtleties of cabinet government his dispatches are barren.

But the domestic issues of New Brunswick politics, however strenuous they may have been, were not to supply the cause of the summary dismissal of Harvey from the New Brunswick scene. It was his part in the Maine boundary dispute which led to the chastened withdrawal of early 1841. The official correspondence gives a fairly concise account of how it came about. Hardly had he arrived in the province when there occurred the event which led to another interlude of border uneasiness. In the summer of 1837 Ebenezer Greeley, the land-agent of Maine, was conducted under arrest to Fredericton for illegal activity in the Madawaska settlements. Harvey's pride in his military reputation was stimulated by this opportunity to defend the Queen's territories and he at once wrote to ask for force by which the upper St. John valley could be defended by a system of moveable columns acting under his own command. On June 15 he wrote to state that the time had come to force the United States to a settlement and on July 10 he stated that Britain should seize the territory granted to her by the award of the King of the Netherlands. The New Brunswick militia were alerted and armed and two companies of the 43rd Regiment, on garrison duty in the province, were sent to Woodstock and Grand Falls.¹⁷ His reaction had been vigorous and he seems to have responded to the outspoken opinion of the New Brunswick public

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷*Ibid.*, C.O. 188/199. Harvey to Glenelg, June 6, 15, July 10, Sept. 11, 1837.

that all available force should be expended to ward off the American threat.

The reputation of Stoney Creek had lost no lustre but the pugnacious name could be a liability as well as an asset to the imperial authorities. When a war with the United States might develop on any one of several counts, so very alert a deputy, one so pre-occupied with the purely local situation, might, at a critical moment, cause a disastrous loss of control. Furthermore, as the tension with Maine had developed, Harvey had come into collision with Sir Colin Campbell at Halifax who was the officer responsible for the defence of the Atlantic provinces. It was no part of imperial strategy "to fight the war in a wilderness." Campbell was opposed to Harvey's determination to defend New Brunswick soil at all costs and represented the dispersal of troops consequent to an attempt to protect the far removed Madawaska area. The war was rather to be prosecuted at sea by amphibious operations against principal American coastal centres, especially New York. The dispute was referred by Glenelg to military referees at Whitehall and it was decided in favour of Campbell.¹⁸ Harvey's intransigent attitude is best revealed in a dispatch of April 25, 1839. The whole St. John valley, he declared, must be defended. Woodstock, even though it was on the right bank of the river, should be garrisoned. He could carry on with provincial troops independently of Sir Colin and he did not need advice.¹⁹ Requests for staff pay and seniority equal to Sir Colin's continued to reach Whitehall throughout that year.

Had it fortunately happened that the distinguished officer to whom it is my duty to look for support on my left flank had been able to enter as warmly and as fully into my views and as cordially to cooperate with me in carrying them into effect as did the gallant and distinguished commander on my right [Sir John Colborne], if such had happily been the case, I am under the impression and conviction that not only would my position have been of less difficulty and anxiety but that the interests of the Queen's services would have been benefitted.²⁰

This rather local point of view was reflective of the fact that any subordination of New Brunswick to Nova Scotia, whether political, military, or ecclesiastical, was not cheerfully regarded at Fredericton.

But while Sir John Harvey was so sternly protesting the most appropriate methods of defending the Queen's territories his softer nature was made receptive to blandishments which emanated from

¹⁸*Ibid.*, C.O. 188/166, Normanby to Harvey with enclosure, June 6, 1839.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, C.O. 188/200, Harvey to Normanby, April 25, 1839.

²⁰*Ibid.*, C.O. 189/200, Harvey to Normanby, Aug. 3, 1839.

across the border. Opinion developed that it did not really matter to whom the territory belonged so long as the timber which it stocked should be floated out by way of the St. John, that, if Maine and New Brunswick politicians should meet, a local settlement satisfactory to all could be made. This was the point of view principally presented by the timber interests of both countries who were already illegally looting the territory and to it Harvey seems principally to have been converted by the good offices of Sir John Caldwell who was operating a large saw-mill at Grand Falls and who had considerable business interests with Americans across the border. At any rate the dispatches of the Lieutenant-Governor late in 1838 began to assume a tone favourable to the Americans. The policy which he advocated was based on the securing of the connection with Canada by Lake Temiscouata, the retention of the Madawaska settlements with whose priest he had cultivated a close affiliation, and permission to the Americans to float timber down the St. John to the Bay of Fundy. The St. Andrew's and Quebec Railway would have to run through American territory but this would present no great difficulty. He had reason to believe, he said, that such an agreement would be satisfactory to Maine and therefore to the general Government. The Americans in the province were, owing to the lightness of their taxes, among the most loyal subjects. The people of New Brunswick could not develop the provincial resources themselves and it was desirable to open the St. John valley to the energy and capital of "our spirited neighbours." He was strongly opposed to any projected railway to Canada by way of Métis and the North Shore. In a later dispatch he wavered with respect to American collaboration upon the railway. Would it not be possible to persuade them to accept a pecuniary indemnity for sufficient territory to link the St. John valley with Canada?²¹

Through the Aroostook War Harvey maintained his reputation for alert bellicosity but he was more and more surrendering to the prejudices of those who, on both sides of the border, held that a local settlement could be made with mutual profit. In January of 1839, just as the war was about to reach a breaking point, he wrote to the Colonial Office asking for authority to deal directly with Governor Fairfield of Maine.²² In March he concluded with General Winfield Scott what he considered to be for himself a diplomatic triumph, a temporary settlement which stopped the war but which recognized the American right to hold the Aroostook valley until a

²¹*Ibid.*, C.O. 188/199, Harvey to Glenelg, Sept. 11, 16, Oct. 1, 9, 13, 1838.

²²*Ibid.*, C.O. 188/200, Harvey to Glenelg, Jan. 19, 1839.

permanent settlement could be made. This marked a retreat from the traditional British position. It opened Harvey to further attack from his opponents in New Brunswick who regarded the surrender as a pro-Yankee artifice thoroughly in line with his democratizing domestic policies. Later in the same month he wrote to Glenelg concerning the unfortunate effect of the speeches of Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington and expressed alarm at the rumoured resignation of Glenelg whom he was fond of calling "the ablest statesman of the day."²³ To General Scott, whom he had first met beneath a flag of truce in 1813, but who still might appear as an eventual adversary, he wrote with an unusual degree of candour: "The extraordinary speeches of the Tory leaders have raised the hopes of the war party in England if any such party really exists."²⁴ Two years in New Brunswick had effected a complete transformation in his reckonings upon the desirability of committing the boundary dispute to the fortunes of a war.

But the British Government was quite indisposed to grant to Harvey any permission to conduct a negotiation on his own, official or unofficial. The agreement with Scott was approved but with the guarded comment that Sir John Harvey would probably not be pleased with any mark of Her Majesty's honour "as it would expose him to invidious remarks."²⁵ Two months after the agreement was made Harvey found it necessary to protest against allegations that he had corresponded with citizens of Maine. He would not be responsible "for the ravings of a party press."²⁶ In June came another warning not to deal with individuals.²⁷ As the Imperial Government was pressing for a general negotiation and as Sydenham was about to come to America, fears lest the self-confident Sir John might prejudice the favourable situation by independent action on his own became embarrassing. Finally, in February, 1840 the affair was taken out of Harvey's hands and placed in those of Lord Sydenham to whom he was made directly accountable.²⁸ The negotiation which he had concluded with Scott came more generally to be regarded as adverse to the British case in the boundary dispute.

This swelling scene came more quickly to a climax than might have been supposed. Late in 1840 Harvey was still in the high confidence of the British authorities. When Sir Colin Campbell left

²³*Ibid.*, C.O. 188/200, Harvey to Glenelg, March 31, 1839.

²⁴*Ibid.*, Sir John Harvey's Letterbook, Harvey to Scott, April 18, 1839.

²⁵*Ibid.*, C.O. 188/166, Normanby to Harvey, May 16, 1839.

²⁶*Ibid.*, C.O. 188/200, Harvey to Normanby, May 15, 1839.

²⁷*Ibid.*, C.O. 188/166, Normanby to Harvey, June 6, 1839.

²⁸*Ibid.*, C.O. 188/168, Russell to Harvey, Feb. 19, 1840.

Halifax he was given the command of the troops in the Atlantic provinces, a position which added to his local stature and gratified him greatly. But at this very time there occurred the error which proved his undoing. In August, a State of Maine commissioner entered the Madawaska settlements to take a census. Harvey, considering that the Governor-General was responsible, merely protested. Contrary to form he seems to have rejoiced on this occasion to take a negative attitude. Perhaps it was because he had been cautioned for earlier aggressiveness or because the measures which he had proposed for garrisoning the territory in 1837 had been rejected. Facing no local resistance to deter them the Americans in Madawaska extended their activities and as the facts were reported to Harvey by the warden of the disputed territory, James B. MacLauchlan, the contrast with his former precipitous behaviour sharpened. Now it seemed that British control over the upper St. John was being sacrificed. But finally on November 13 with full knowledge of the facts he reported to Sydenham, asking if military occupation were desirable and if so could it be managed from Temiscouata.

Sydenham was in no doubt as to what course he should follow. Two companies of infantry were ordered into the Madawaska settlements with orders to keep the Americans out of the disputed territory to the north of the St. John. But the sudden movement filled Harvey with chagrin. After trying to intercept the march of the troops from Temiscouata but being foiled by the Postmaster, fearful of American military retaliation from Houlton he wrote, with the sanction of the Executive Council, an apologetic letter to the Governor of Maine with the explanation that the movement of the troops had been a mistake. And there was an equally apologetic letter to Sydenham: "I had no idea the movement of the troops would have been made so suddenly. On the contrary I had hoped that, as supported on a former occasion, they would have been placed at my disposal but not actually moved without further communication from me."²⁹ To Sydenham the desire of Harvey to maintain "the frank and courteous intercourse" with his friends in Maine must have seemed rather pathetic considering the aggressive actions which Harvey himself had reported the month before. And the fact that the warden, having lost confidence in Harvey's determination to defend the territory, had appealed directly to him for military assistance must have convinced Sydenham that the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick was now wanting the very qualities for which he had

²⁹*Ibid.*, Series G7, vols. 4, 5, Harvey to Sydenham with enclosures, Dec. 12, 1840.

long been notorious. It was rather novel for Sir John to protest the necessity of keeping the peace at such cost to British interests.

The final interlude in the business added an ingredient of ridicule. In December, considering the need of the New Brunswick Government to maintain its authority in the territory, Harvey organized a civil posse to keep the peace in Madawaska. When his legal officers ruled that the civil power had no right to create an armed body of men without consent of Parliament he was mortified; and Sydenham was pleased with this additional evidence that his opinion concerning Sir John's ineptness had been a correct one.³⁰ In fairness to Harvey, however, it should be stated that he was trusting upon the plighted word of Fairfield, a confidence which proved unworthy because of the Governor's incapacity to control the recalcitrant legislature of the State of Maine. This may make his conduct seem intelligible. But such conduct might not answer the exacting standards imposed upon a colonial governor whose part in the boundary dispute was a subordinate one.

On December 28, 1840, Sydenham wrote to Russell:

I can hardly describe the surprise with which I learnt the change which had taken place in the opinion of Sir John Harvey with respect to the advance of a company into the Madawaska settlements, or the regret which I have felt at various contradictions and inconsistencies with which his correspondence teems upon this important subject and especially from his indiscreet declaration of opinion to the Governor of the State of Maine. . . . In my opinion we owe the present unsatisfactory state of things within the disputed territory to the course which has been followed by the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick and which he would now seek to continue.³¹

The letter went on to express a distrust of the Americans in which Harvey did not share and adversely to criticize the agreement which he had made in 1839 with General Scott.

For Russell this was sufficient. On January 25, 1841 he wrote to Harvey informing him that a successor would shortly arrive. The letter referred to the long series of admonitions and warnings that the entire negotiation should be conducted by the British Government. It reviewed what were termed inconsistencies in Harvey's conduct, his disagreement with MacLauchlan, the unfortunate letter to Fairfield.³² Asked by the Lieutenant-Governor to revise his opinion, Russell refused. "I simply recorded the fact that your letter left Governor Fairfield to suppose that the movement of the

³⁰*Ibid.*, Series G12, vol. 27, Sydenham to Russell with enclosures, Jan. 27, 1841.

³¹*Ibid.*, Series G12, vol. 27.

³²*Ibid.*, C.O. 189/169, Russell to Harvey, Jan. 25, 1841.

troops was a measure which originated not with yourself but with Lord Sydenham."³³ As if to justify himself to posterity Sir John pencilled on the first dispatch: "Keep all quiet if possible until the Spring. The only thing which they (the Gov't.) appear to object to you is that you are inclined to be too pugnacious." More formally he stated the reason for the misunderstanding to have been "the absence of that unreserved communication with me on the part of the Governor General which had been freely accorded to me by all his predecessors."³⁴ He had chosen the wrong time for softer measures. In 1840 Sydenham had been the patriot.

For Harvey, perhaps, it was a blessing rather than a misfortune. The favourable circumstances under which he had assumed the government had worked themselves out so that not even the appearance of harmony could be possible. The effects of the lackadaisical and corrupt financial measures of the Legislature were about to burst upon New Brunswick. He had arrived during a period of prosperity when the public coffers were overflowing but when he left the province was entering upon a career of debt which very quickly assumed formidable proportions. The timber trade was to endure two years of adversity not because of the 1841 reduction of the British duties on foreign timber but because of the fears of possible consequences. "A breath had made it and a breath might take it away."³⁵ Local calamities, such as the fires of Saint John and the bankruptcy and impoverishment of that city of mercurial humours, added to the burdens which had to be faced as the province entered the hungry forties.

It had been a stern four years in which the obsolescent forms of colonial government had been revealed in deep relief. In the counties litigious parish magistrates continued to administer local justice and to perform executive acts of government very much after their own fashion. On Grand Manan "the Emperor," Wilford Fisher of the bench of magistrates, and his dissenting associates burnt down the building of the Church of England; and the Church of England party, in the unfamiliar role of opposition, organized a revolt in the militia.³⁶ On the Miramichi a tumult had arisen when Joseph Cunard,

³³*Ibid.*, C.O. 189/169, Russell to Harvey, March 18, 1841.

³⁴*Ibid.*, C.O. 188/201, Harvey to Russell, March 15, 1841.

³⁵*The Chronicle*, Jan. 23, 1837.

³⁶"For he has been much more the Dictator of this location than Sir John Harvey has been or is the Governor of the Province—and to such an extent that for years I have called him Emperor of Grand Manan." Lauchlan Donaldson to Simonds, Sept. 12, 1840. For papers relative to this affair see P.A.C., enclosures to Council Minutes, Oct. 2, 1840.

using his influence with the imperial commissioners of customs, had secured the removal of the customs establishment to his own side of the river at Chatham and had placed it at his own front door. But Harvey had restored the situation for his own political supporters when he brought about its return to Newcastle on the Gilmour Rankin bank.³⁷ Most contemporary opinions agreed that it was a bad system but the alternative which was looming up, one of municipal incorporation, appeared in the public mind as a hideous invention to extort direct taxes from the people.

The accumulated ills required the exercise of minds more analytical and of temperaments more cautious than Harvey's. It was Colebrooke, the first of a series of enlightened governors dealing with reactionary democrats, who was to point the way to a programme of reform which, only after the passage of many years and of many crises of conscience, was to give the province a form of government which possessed the means of strong leadership.

It is customary to deprecate the role which New Brunswick played in the movement for responsible government. In Harvey's time and for many years after there was a mood of tranquillity, a satisfaction with existing forms of government, an abhorrence of abstraction which would seem to seal off the province from the currents of opinion which were abroad in the colonies of British North America.³⁸ Those who would sustain the tradition of revolt in the writing of Canadian history can find little emphasis for their point of view when they contemplate the New Brunswick scene in the years following 1837. Lemuel Allan Wilmot could see the virtues of a ministry which would be responsible to the majority of the House of Assembly. But he promulgated the principle only when it suited his purposes; and for a period of years when he was in the employment of the Government he was scrupulously silent upon it. In any case it may be asked what was the use of a responsible ministry if it were to have no effective power. So long as the initiative was in the hands of the Legislature, so long as there were no funds in the control of the executive, so long as there was no civil service of engineers and specialists, a government, responsible or not, had only a minor area of power. The Governor and the heads of departments were irresponsible. But, measured in terms of the

³⁷*Ibid.*, C.O. 188/200, two dispatches, one Private and Confidential, Harvey to Glenelg, April 12, 1839.

³⁸"The passing of the Civil List Bill conferred on the people of the Province all the Responsible Government which I will ever advocate or which the Province will ever require." Charles Simonds in the Legislature, reported in the *New Brunswick Courier*, Feb. 8, 1845.

expenditure of public funds, there was very little they were irresponsible for.

Considering the vagaries of New Brunswick politics after 1837 the salient development which made for effective government in the Canadas was the removal of the initiative of money grants from the Legislature of the united province. This came in 1840 not from any popular source but was imposed by the British Government as a condition of the loan which was made in the same year.³⁹ New Brunswickers could see little sense in the cry for responsible government because the Government of the colony was already democratic to an extraordinarily direct degree. For the chosen representatives of the people were not only legislators but executives. They not only voted but they supervised and managed. This article has possibly presented a prejudiced point of view as to whether or not the system was effective or desirable. But responsible government when it came, and nobody yet seems to be certain as to how and when it did come, was to have no fundamental effect upon the character of the colony or the politics of its people.

³⁹In 1842 when Sir William Colebrooke opened negotiations for a loan to New Brunswick and used the Canada loan as a precedent the Secretary of State, Lord Stanley, made the following remark: "And it is to be observed that this relief to the colony [Canada] was not afforded until among other changes a provision had been made against any possible improvident expenditure being authorized by the House of Assembly which might have the effect of diminishing the Security for the payment of the interest, by transferring from the Assembly to the Crown the initiation of all money votes." P.A.C., C.O. 188/170, Stanley to Colebrooke, Nov. 30, 1842.

COMMODORE CHAUNCEY'S ATTACK ON KINGSTON
HARBOUR, NOVEMBER 10, 1812

C. P. STACEY

THE first considerable naval engagement of the War of 1812 on Lake Ontario took place in the mouth of the harbour of Kingston, the British naval station for that lake, on November 10, 1812. On that day the American squadron, attacking in the hope of cutting out the *Royal George*, the largest British vessel on the lake, was beaten off in an afternoon of long-range cannonading. It was a small affair, and the authors of the "standard" books have not taken the trouble to ferret out the facts about it.¹ Nevertheless, it was an action of some significance; and it has its own interest, the more so as it provides a particularly fine example of those contradictions between British and American accounts which are so common in the records of this war. In this case the opposing commanders differed even on the date of the engagement!²

Only five firsthand accounts of this engagement seem to have survived: two by Commodore Isaac Chauncey, commander of the American squadron;³ one by Colonel John Vincent, commander of

¹A. T. Mahan, *Sea Power in Its Relations to the War of 1812* (London, 1905) makes a brief reference (I, 364-5) purely on the basis of Chauncey's first report and consequently gets the date wrong (see below, note 2). The mention in C. P. Lucas, *The Canadian War of 1812* (Oxford, 1906), 62, seems to be based on Mahan. There is nothing in Henry Adams, *History of the United States during the first Administration of James Madison* (New York, 1909), or in William Wood, *The War with the United States: A Chronicle of 1812* (Toronto, 1915). Even the ultra-British William James (*A Full and Correct Account of the Military Occurrences of the Late War between Great Britain and the United States of America . . .*, London, 1818) relies entirely on American sources; he too misdates the engagement in consequence.

²Colonel Vincent's report (see below, note 4) gives the date correctly as November 10. Chauncey's first report (below, note 3) gives it as November 9, and has misled many historians. However, in a subsequent report to the Secretary of the Navy, dated November 17, Chauncey corrected himself, explaining that he had been "much hurried in taking notes" from his journal (National Archives, Washington, to the present writer, Oct. 20, 1948). He also gives the date correctly in his letter of November 17 to Governor Tompkins.

³To the Secretary of the Navy, Nov. 13, 1812 (National Archives, Washington, Navy Department Records, Captains' Letters, 1812, vol. 3). Frequently printed, with some inaccuracies, in contemporary or nearly contemporary publications, e.g. the *Weekly Register* [Niles'], III, 206 (Nov. 28, 1812). Reprinted more recently in E. Cruikshank, *The Documentary History of the Campaign upon the Niagara Frontier in the Year 1812 . . .* (Welland, n.d.), part II, 208-10. Chauncey's other account was written to Governor Tompkins of New York on Nov. 17, 1812 (copy loose in Official Letter-Book no. 2 of Major-General Jacob Brown in Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division).

the Kingston garrison;⁴ one by an anonymous "officer under Commodore Chauncey";⁵ and one in the local newspaper, the *Kingston Gazette*.⁶ All of them except perhaps one⁷ are in print, although in several cases the print is very obscure and in some it is inaccurate.

I

Before attempting to describe the action, let us try to establish the strength of the opposing forces. It is a point on which there was considerable difference of opinion at the time.

It may be recalled that the British enjoyed a decided advantage on the Great Lakes at the outset of the war, as the result of the existence of the naval force known as the Provincial Marine of Upper Canada. This force, however, was far from being a proper fighting navy; it was primarily a transport service and was administered by the Quartermaster-General's department of the army. Before it was taken over by the Royal Navy the initial British superiority had been largely overcome by the arrival on the Lakes of United States naval officers and crews who proceeded to improvise squadrons. Commodore Chauncey reached Sackett's Harbor on October 6, 1812.⁸ He found to hand one United States naval vessel, the 18-gun brig *Oneida*, built in 1809, but apparently never manned until 1811;⁹ and, displaying an energy in administration which he was never to show in action, he took up half-a-dozen

⁴To Major General R. H. Sheaffe, Nov. 11, 1812 (copy in Public Archives of Canada, Series C, vol. 228); printed in William Wood, ed., *Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812* (Toronto, 1920-8), I, 644-5.

⁵Printed in the *Statesman* (New York), Nov. 28, 1812. Two different portions of this letter have been reprinted: one (transcribed with truly remarkable inaccuracy, and giving the date of the newspaper wrongly) in Cruikshank, *Documentary History . . . 1812*, part II, 213-14; and one in [A. Bowen], *The Naval Monument* (New York, n.d.), 264-5. I am much indebted to Miss Dorothy Barck, Librarian of the New-York Historical Society, for helping me to work out these complicated details and providing me with a photostat of the newspaper.

⁶In the number dated Nov. 17, 1812. So far as I am aware, only one copy of the *Gazette* for this date exists—that in the Queen's University Library, to which I am indebted for a photograph. This file has, however, been microfilmed under the Canadian Library Association's programme. The *Quebec Mercury* account printed in Cruikshank, *Documentary History . . . 1812*, 220-1, is in fact this one, rather inaccurately reproduced.

⁷Chauncey's letter to Tompkins (above, note 3). This letter seems to have been known to Benson J. Lossing, who cites it in *The Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812* (New York, 1869), though he dates it Nov. 15 (371-2). The present writer has not been able to find it in print.

⁸Mahan, *Sea Power in Its Relations to the War of 1812*, I, 362.

⁹*American State Papers, Naval Affairs* (Washington, 1860), I, 202-3, 229, 247 ff. Brock to Prevost, Dec. 2, 1811 (Wood, *Select British Documents*, I, 275). This vessel was originally of 16 guns.

merchant schooners (*Hamilton*, *Governor Tompkins*, *Conquest*, *Growler*, *Julia*, and *Pert*) and armed them with one or more heavy long guns apiece. It was with this queer but dangerous force that he attempted the Kingston operation. According to his own account, his squadron's strength amounted altogether to "40 guns of different Calibres, and 430 men including Marines."¹⁰ One of his subordinate officers raises the number of guns to 45.¹¹

Chauncey gave his superiors a very inflated estimate of the strength of the British squadron, which he credited with 108 guns and 890 men.¹² His intelligence concerning his adversaries was queerly defective; he includes in their force the *Toronto* (which he designates by the Italianate form *Taranto*), although this vessel had been broken up many months before.¹³ It is amusing to compare his account of their gun strength with that given in contemporary British records. Incidentally, his figures add up, not to 108 guns, but to 106:

	British records ¹⁴	Chauncey's estimate
<i>Royal George</i>	22	26
<i>Earl of Moira</i>	14	18
<i>Prince Regent</i>	10	18
<i>Duke of Gloucester</i>	6	14
<i>Toronto</i>	broken up	14
<i>Governor Simcoe</i>	merchant vessel ¹⁵	12
<i>Seneca</i>	2 ¹⁶	4
TOTAL	52	106

As for crew strength, in April, 1813 the combined crews of *Royal George*, *Earl of Moira*, and *Prince Regent* were reported as 230

¹⁰To Secretary of the Navy, Nov. 6, 1812 (National Archives, Navy Department Records, Captains' Letters, 1812, vol. 3; printed in *Weekly Register*, Nov. 28, 1812, and in Cruikshank, *Documentary History* . . . 1812, 197-8).

¹¹Jesse D. Elliott to General Peter B. Porter, Nov. 3, 1812 (*ibid.*, 177-8).

¹²Report of Nov. 6, 1812, above, note 10.

¹³Gray to Prevost, Jan. 29, 1812 (Wood, *Select British Documents*, I, 248).

¹⁴For *Royal George* and *Earl of Moira*, from Bruyeres to Prevost, Jan. 19, 1813 (P.A.C., Series C, vol. 387). Other figures from report by Captain A. Gray, Feb. 24, 1812 (Wood, *Select British Documents*, I, 253). As the armament of individual ships was altered from time to time, it cannot be said with certainty that these figures are exactly correct for November, 1812.

¹⁵See, e.g., Glegg to Powell, Oct. 14, 1812 (Cruikshank, *Documentary History* . . . 1812, 88-9). This vessel was however taken into the Navy in 1813.

¹⁶This vessel is very obscure. She was a merchant schooner which was taken over in June, 1812 and was sunk by the fire of Fort Niagara on Nov. 21, 1812 (P.A.C., Series C, vol. 734, Cartwright to Myers, Apr. 29, 1815; *ibid.*, State Papers, Upper Canada, H-34, pt. 2, Petition of Ebenezer Hubbard, Feb. 19, 1818). She was probably only a transport.

officers and men, including troops shipped as marines.¹⁷ And there is no doubt that by naval standards the quality of the officers and crews of the Provincial Marine was very low. Shortly after the engagement at Kingston, Captain A. Gray, Acting Deputy Quartermaster-General, wrote thence to the Governor-General:¹⁸ "The officers of the Marine appear to be destitute of all energy and spirit, and are sunk into contempt in the eyes of all who know them. The want of seamen is so great that the *Royal George* has only 17 men on board who are capable of doing their Duty, and the *Moir* only 10 able seamen. . . ." The squadron was in fact largely manned by soldiers. In the previous April, General Prevost had ordered five companies of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment to Upper Canada "for the purpose of being employed in the Marine Department afloat";¹⁹ and it was reported after the fight in Kingston harbour that the one man killed in the *Royal George* was a soldier of this corps.²⁰ The senior officer of the Marine (called generally the Commodore) was Commander Hugh Earl, the *Royal George's* captain.²¹

After his withdrawal from before Kingston, Chauncey reported the strength of the defences and the garrison in terms just as exaggerated as his appreciation of the power of the British ships. "It was thought by all the Officers of the Squadron," he writes,²² "that the Enemy had more than 30 guns mounted at Kingston and from 1000 to 1500 men." This contrasts strangely with the account of Captain Gray in the letter already quoted:²³ "As to the Works of Defence here, but little can be said; about 6 or 8 small ship guns are mounted in the Batteries, and a Blockhouse is built upon the high ground [on Point Henry]²⁴ for the protection of the Harbour, mounting at present a 6 and a 9 pounder, the whole capable of making but a feeble resistance to the force the enemy has the power of bringing against us."

The Public Archives of Canada contain little further evidence on the state of the Kingston defences in 1812, though there is plenty on their condition at the end of the war, when they had been greatly

¹⁷Gray to —, Apr. 29, 1813 (P.A.C., Series C, vol. 729).

¹⁸Dec. 3, 1812 (*ibid.*, vol. 728).

¹⁹Prevost to Liverpool, April 14, 1812 (*ibid.*, vol. 1218).

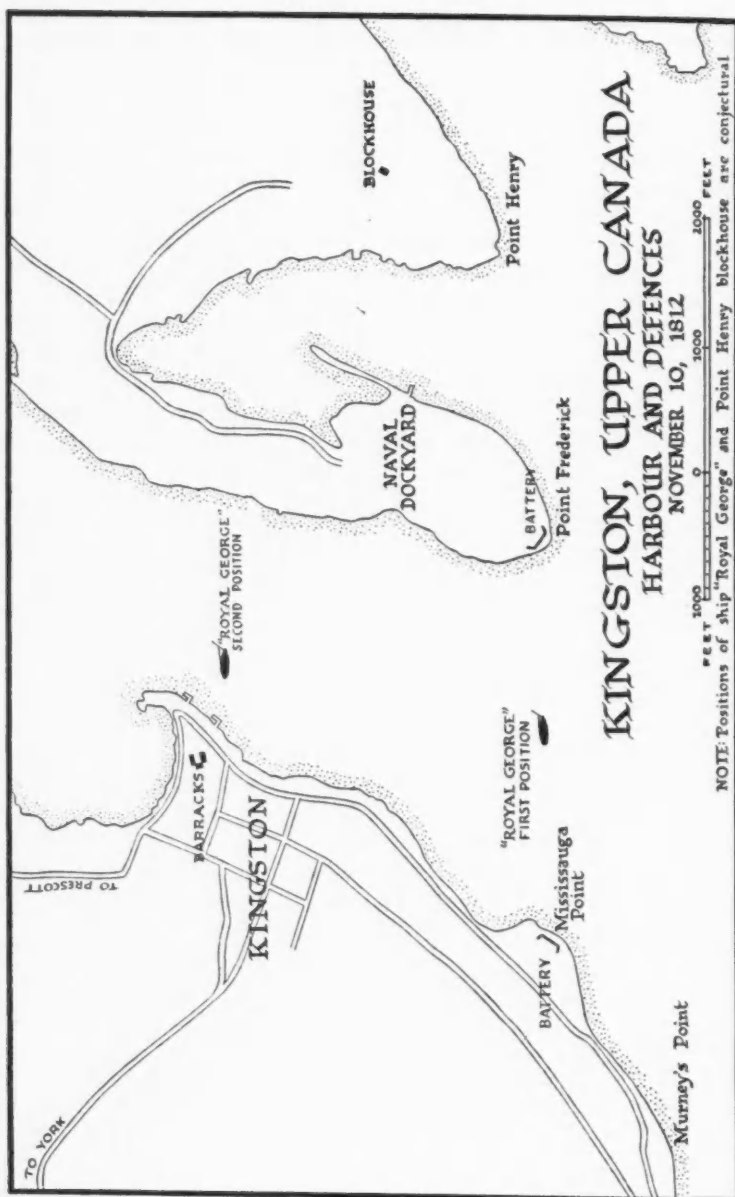
²⁰*Quebec Gazette*, Nov. 19, 1812 (from *Montreal Gazette*, Nov. 17).

²¹The tombstone of "Hugh Earl, Esq., Commander in the Provincial Navy of Upper Canada" was still legible recently in St. Paul's churchyard, Kingston, though broken across and rapidly perishing. He lived until 1841. His name is frequently mis-spelt Earle.

²²Report of Nov. 13, above, note 3.

²³Above, note 18.

²⁴Bruyeres to Prevost, Jan. 19, 1813, above, note 14.



extended. The *Kingston Gazette's* account of the action specifically mentions a battery on Mississauga Point, on the town side of the harbour; and there was at least one on Point Frederick, on the other side, immediately covering the naval dockyard (whose site is occupied today by the Royal Military College of Canada). At the end of the war there was another battery on the town side, at Murney's Point; this apparently did not exist in November, 1812.²⁵ The *Gazette* uses the phrase "all our Batteries," suggesting at least three positions. The American "officer" speaks of "five batteries," and specifically mentions two, on "India and Navy Points." The former name appears to be unknown to British records, but there are references to "Navy Point" which identify it with Point Frederick.²⁶ It may not be too fanciful to identify "India" (Indian?) Point with that bearing the tribal name Mississauga. The Kingston defences which interest the tourist today are all post-1812; the four Martello towers on the lakefront are monuments to the Oregon boundary dispute.

As for Chauncey's estimate that the British had "from 1000 to 1500 men," we have a return of the distribution of the force in Canada prepared at Montreal two days after the fight in Kingston harbour.²⁷ It shows the Kingston garrison as 459 all ranks. However, no militia are included in this return, and there were certainly some present. It was "the Militia Artillery" who fired the salute for Brock when he landed at Kingston in the previous September,²⁸ and as the return of November 12 shows only five regular artillerymen there, it was mainly militiamen (or regular infantry) who manned the batteries during the engagement. Both the *Gazette* and the Ameri-

²⁵I owe the accompanying map to the kindness of Captain C. C. J. Bond. A plan dated 1790, in the Map Division, Public Archives of Canada, shows the tip of Point Frederick "res'd. for a battery." But it seems at least possible that Kingston was not fortified until 1812, for Lieutenant Colonel Bruyeres's "Report of . . . the Fortified Military Posts in both the Canadas," Aug. 24, 1811 (P.A.C., Series C, vol. 1706) makes no mention of Kingston. Lieutenant J. S. Kitson's report of April 17, 1813, on the improvements being made in the defences (*ibid.*, vol. 387) refers to "the left old Battery" on Point Frederick having been pulled down and reconstructed; this reference (which has been called to the writer's attention by Mr. Ronald Way) is the only one he has seen which might suggest the presence of more than one battery on Point Frederick. It seems more probable, however, that Kitson called the Point Frederick battery the "left" one to distinguish it from the "right" battery on Mississauga Point. Kitson also remarks that the Mississauga battery is being altered "to give a more advantageous fire upon Ships attempting to come round Murney's Point."

²⁶E.g., Yeo to Prevost, July 22, 1813 (*ibid.*, vol. 730).

²⁷"Distribution of the Forces in Canada. Montreal 12th. Novr. 1812" (*ibid.*, vol. 1707). The 49th Foot (262 all ranks) made up the greater part of the garrison.

²⁸*Quebec Gazette*, Oct. 1, 1812 (quoting *Kingston Gazette*).

can "officer" speak of "Flying [Horse] Artillery"; these must have been militia.

II

On November 6 Chauncey wrote to the Secretary of the Navy²⁹ describing his plan of operations:

As I have reason to believe that The Royal George, Prince Regent, and Duke of Gloucester, have gone up the Lake with Troops to re-inforce Fort George, and as I have [reason] to believe that other Troops are waiting at Kingston for their return destined for the same Post, I have determined to proceed with the force I have ready in quest of the Enemy. My present intention is, to take a position on the Canada Shore near some small Islands called the "False Ducks" where the enemy are obliged to pass and where I will wait their return to Kingston. If I should succeed in my Enterprize (which I have but little doubt of) I shall make an attack upon Kingston for the purpose of destroying the Guns and publick Stores at that Station.

The Commodore proposed, he said, to sail on the day he wrote or that following. He actually sailed on the eighth;³⁰ and on the ninth he duly caught sight of the *Royal George*, sailing alone. He chased her, he says, "into the Bay of Quanti [*sic*] where I lost sight of her in the night." (His other account, written some days later, says "in a squall in the night.")³¹ The following morning at Ernestown, now Bath (Chauncey calls it "Armingstown"), the Americans found a small schooner, "belonging to Messrs. B. Fairfield & Co.,"³² and made her a prize; but they now again got sight of the *Royal George*, "lying in Kingston channel," and went in pursuit. As the schooner was a hindrance, she was burned. The *Royal George* made for Kingston with the Americans in chase.³³

The news that Chauncey was in the vicinity had led to precautions being taken in Kingston, detachments of troops being sent on the morning of the tenth "to occupy the different avenues to the town."³⁴ Then the Americans appeared, coasting along towards the place. The *Kingston Gazette* speaks of an ineffective exchange of shots near Collins Bay between the enemy vessels and "our Gun Boat," which probably means the *Royal George*. It also reports that a British field gun fired on them at Everett Point and caused them to "sheer further off."

²⁹Above, note 10.

³⁰Chauncey to Secretary of the Navy, Nov. 17 (above, note 2); to Tompkins, same date (above, note 3).

³¹To Secretary of the Navy, Nov. 13; to Tompkins, Nov. 17.

³²*Kingston Gazette*, Nov. 17, 1812.

³³Chauncey's report, Nov. 13.

³⁴*Kingston Gazette*, Nov. 17, 1812.

The *Royal George* having got safely into Kingston, Chauncey decided to follow her in and try to take her—an object for which it was well worth while to run risks. So in mid-afternoon, with only a couple of hours of daylight left, the Assyrian, somewhat circumspectly, began to come down.

III

Here the Yankees come, then: making in slowly in the light air, their big battle ensigns flapping against the November sky. The brig and the six schooners are not very imposing; but no doubt they look formidable enough to the watchers on shore. We know from the *Gazette* that Kingston was in a state of unsuppressed excitement. People had come flocking in from the country round. "The veteran Loyalists who had manifested their zeal for their Sovereign during the American rebellion, shewed that age had not extinguished their ardor. . . . Before night the town was crowded with brave men, who insensible to fatigue, were anxious only to grapple with the enemy." But it is with the eye of imagination alone that we can see a more important factor in the situation, Vincent's red-coated professionals, going about their preparations with the calm bred of discipline and custom, and the confidence that stems from memories of Detroit and Queenston Heights.

If the reader will bear with us, we will let the men who were there tell the story of the engagement. First, the anonymous American officer, whose account, dated November 15, is, for a reason which he explains, the most detailed we have:

. . . I have not the smallest doubt had the wind been such as to have enabled our gallant little squadron to have come out of the Bay with a leading breeze, but that we should have brought the *Royal George* out with us. We were engaged one hour and fifty minutes, most of the time pretty closely. The day was mild—the scenery around us very beautiful, and the *tout ensemble* of the view in the heat of action was as grand as any thing I ever witnessed I took notes during the action, which I beg leave to subjoin. In going in our commander, much to his honor, directed the squadron to level their fire as much as possible against the ship and forts, as it was not his wish to injure individuals by beating down the houses of Kingston.

50 minutes after 2 set top gallant sails—5 minutes after 3, the batteries on India and Navy Points opened their fire on the leading vessel.³⁵ Lt. Elliot of the *Conquest*, pushed forward and went in in the handsomest style: he was followed by the *Julia*, *Frant*—*Pert*, *Arundel*—*Grouler*, *Mix*—next came the brig bearing the Commodore's broad pennant—then the *Hamilton*, Lieut.

³⁵These shots were doubtless fired to discover whether the Americans were within range.

M'Pherson, and *Governor Tompkins*, Lieut. Brown, who was far astern having been dispatched in the early part of the day on particular business.—12 minutes after 3, Lieut. Elliot opened his fire—15 minutes after 3, Pert, Growler and Julia commenced their's—20 minutes after 3, batteries opened on the brig, and she sustained the principal part of the fire during the remainder of the action—22 minutes after 3, signal, "engage closer," thrown out, and answered by all³⁶—25 minutes after 3 Pert's gun burst—Arundel wounded badly—he was afterwards knocked over by the boom, and drowned!)—30 minutes after 3, Garnet killed aboard the brig—40 minutes after 3, brig opened her fire on the ship [*Royal George*], and the ship on the Hamilton—fire continued with most astonishing alacrity.

At 4 o'clock, ship *George* cut her cables and run away, further up the bay. The squadron is now exposed to the cross fire of five batteries, of flying artillery, of the ship with springs on her cables so as to enable her to bring her guns to bear. The Governor Tompkins now bears up into the bay and opens her fire! And the firing becomes general and very warm! Showers of round and grape fell around us.

Half past 4, hauled by the wind, and began to beat out of the bay as night was closing in and the prospect blowing weather—anchored 2 miles out in full sight—heavy gales all night—continued in sight next day—the *Royal George* was too prudent to venture out.

The anonymous officer continues in terms which betray the young seaman describing his first action, and which excited the scorn of William James:

. . . Our sailors had no grog—they want no stimulus of that kind, they seem to have no fear of death I was by the side of Garnet, a few moments before he fell He was laughing heartily, and in that act was cut in two by a nine-pound shot I afterwards saw his countenance, it seemed as if the smile had not yet left it. This disaster only exasperated our Seaman [*sic*], they prayed and entreated to be laid close aboard the *Royal George* only for 5 minutes "just to revenge Garnet's death"

Finally, the officer's postscript may be taken with more than one grain of salt, although (except for the references to the views of the inhabitants of Kingston and to the Sackett's Harbor fifth column) there is very similar information in Chauncey's letter to Governor Tompkins:

November 16, 1812.

A cartel has arrived this day from Kingston with dispatches from Colonel Vincent, commandant at Kingston, requesting permission to exchange captain Brock.³⁷

³⁶John Lewis Thomson, a contemporary writer whose highly coloured account of the action is clearly based on this one, here makes a slight but important divagation from his source: ". . . the commodore gave the signal, 'engage closer;' which was instantly obeyed" (*Historical Sketches of the Late War between the United States and Great Britain*, 5th ed., Philadelphia, 1818, 93). One wonders whether the letter-writer's italics are ironical.

³⁷See below, note 39.

The men on board the cartel state, that 7 or 8 houses were nearly demolished at Kingston—that our shot passed thro' and thro' the Royal George and killed some sick men in their hammocks. The inhabitants of Kingston blame Col. Vincent very much for opening the fire of the batteries to protect the ship, which, in fact, they secretly and sincerely wish might fall into our hands—or be *destroyed*! The Royal George was so afraid of being boarded by us, that she gave repeated signals for a fresh supply of men, and received 2 boats full during the action—her tops were crowded with men.

We are, I am sorry to say it, surrounded here by spies—traitors—and (I fear) *assassins*! But more of this hereafter. . . .

Commodore Chauncey's own report reflects the haste in which it was written, and not only in its confusion about the date of the action. After describing the second encounter with the *Royal George*, it proceeds:

We gave chase and followed her into the harbor of Kingston where we engaged her and the Batteries for 1 hour and 45 minutes. I had made up my mind to board her, but she was so well protected by the batteries and the wind blowing directly in, it was deemed imprudent to make the attempt at that time: the pilots also refused to take charge of the vessels. Under these circumstances and it being after sundown I determined to hawl off and renew the attack the next morning. We beat up in good order under a heavy fire from The Royal George and Batteries to 4 mile point where we anchored. It blew heavy in squalls from the westward during the night, and there was every appearance of a gale of wind. The pilots became alarmed and I thought it most prudent to get into a place of more safety. I therefore (very reluctantly) deferred renewing the attack upon the Ship and Forts until a more favorable opportunity. . . .

We lost in this affair [in the Oneida] 1 man killed and 3 slightly wounded, with a few shot through our sails. The other vessels lost no men and received but little injury in their Hull and sails with the exception of the *Pert*, whose gun bursted in the early part of the action and wounded her Commander (sailing master Arundel) badly, and a midshipman and 3 men slightly. Mr. Arundel who refused to quit the Deck although wounded, was knocked over-board in beating up to our anchorage and I am sorry to say was drowned.—

The Royal George must have received very considerable injury in her Hull and in men, as the gun vessels [each armed] with a long 32 pounder were seen to strike her almost every shot, and it was observed that she was re-inforced with Troops four different times during the action. . . .

I think I can say with great propriety that we have now the command of the Lake and that we can transport Troops and Stores to any part of it without any risk of an attack from the Enemy, although the whole of his naval Force was not collected at Kingston, yet the force at the different Batteries would more than counterbalance the Vessels that were absent. . . . The Royal George protected by this force was driven into the inner harbor, under the protection of the Musquetry by The Oneida and 4 small schooners fitted as gunboats, the Governor Tompkins not having been able to join in the action until about sundown owing to the lightness of the winds, and the *Pert*'s gun having burst the 2d. or 3d. shot. . . .

So much for the American accounts. Now let us look at Vincent's letter to General Sheaffe. It is brief and unvarnished—the sort of document a sailor might produce if sailors were the plain, bluff people they are supposed to be. Chauncey, at least, clearly did not belong to this school.

Sir,

I sent off an express yesterday to the Commanding Officer at York, that some very suspicious Vessels had appeared and were making for the Bay of Quinty.—I had reason to suppose that a landing was intended. I since find it was the American Brig the *Oneida*, and six small Vessels with one or two heavy Guns each,—a twenty four, and thirty two pounders.—From their actions, I must suppose their visit was only intended to cut out the *Royal George*. The Commodore did not think his force sufficient as a match for the Fleet against him, and placed his Vessel between our Batteries. At two o'Clock yesterday they passed this Post, exchanging shots with our Batteries and several broadsides with the *Royal George* until it was dark. They returned for the night to the four mile point, and there anchored. This morning they left us, we suppose, to return into Port.

It is to be lamented, that the Guns we have here are only nine pounders, and the Enemy kept at too great a distance,—still a few of our shot struck them, and notwithstanding the whole of their fire was directed against the *Royal George*, she suffered but little. One man killed,—a two and thirty pound shot lodged in her bottom, and her rigging much cut.

I have to request some arms may be sent to this post and Prescott. On this late business I had no arms to give out of Store if an Enemy had landed. Two hundred and thirty men came in as Volunteers to join the Militia. . . .

P.S./ The *Simcoe* is reported to have just come in. She met the American Fleet, who chased her for some time, and got in safe. I suspect this Fleet will return to Sackett's Harbour without having any thing to boast of.

No account whatever from Commander Earl or any other officer of the Provincial Marine seems to have survived, and for some details of the engagement we have only American evidence. In particular, no British account mentions the *Royal George's* retreat up the harbour; but there seems no reason to doubt that this took place. And it may be true that she was reinforced with troops, although the two American witnesses differ considerably on the extent to which this was done.

IV

Surveying the incident as a whole, one forms the impression that Chauncey fought a cautious fight. In spite of his Nelsonian signal, he obviously engaged at comparatively long range, with the evident object of getting the maximum advantage from his schooners' long guns, which were his best weapons. (The *Oneida* was armed with short carronades, as was also the *Royal George*. The British ship's

two long guns were only 9-pounders.)³⁸ Yet the long thirty-twos did much less execution than Chauncey claimed. He seems, moreover, to have been fairly easily discouraged. In justice to him, however, it must be remembered that it was getting late in the season for operations on the Lakes, and we may accept his statement that his pilots (presumably civilians) were timorous—though perhaps they were more afraid of Vincent's grapeshot than of the forces of nature.

As for the results of the engagement, the losses were very small, and would apparently have been essentially the same on either side—one man killed and a few wounded—had it not been for the additional American casualties resulting from the bursting of the *Pert's* big gun. Chauncey's report tends to exaggeration; having failed to obtain the results forecast in his hopeful dispatch of November 6, he now felt it necessary to offer lengthy explanations. He writes as one anxious to create an impression at the Navy Department, whereas Vincent's letter, agreeably unpretentious, is designed merely to supply his superior with early and accurate information. The colonel, on balance, had much more reason for satisfaction than the commodore.

Nevertheless, Chauncey's assertion that he now controlled the lake was not unfounded. The *Earl of Moira* got through to Kingston just after the action and joined the *Royal George*;³⁹ but the American commander (who now had acquired three more schooners, *Ontario*, *Scourge*, and *Fair American*) was soon able to boast that he was blockading both British vessels with the *Governor Tompkins*, *Hamilton*, *Conquest*, and *Growler*.⁴⁰ We find it reported from Kingston on December 2, "The enemy's vessels are frequently seen at the mouth of the harbour on the look out."⁴¹ Commander Earl made

³⁸On the *Oneida*, Elliott to Porter, Nov. 3, 1812, above, note 11. On the *Royal George*, Bruyeres to Prevost, Jan. 19, 1813, above, note 14.

³⁹The story in C. H. J. Snider, *In the Wake of the Eighteen-Twelvers* (Toronto, 1913), that the *Oneida* allowed a sloop which the *Moira* was conveying to pass unharmed because it carried General Brock's effects, is repeated in *Freshwater* (Toronto, 1931) by G. A. Cuthbertson, who calls it "one of the most chivalrous incidents of the war." It is, alas, a pleasant romantic invention. The *Moira* allowed the sloop *Elizabeth* to be captured by the *Growler*, and it was not released (Chauncey's letter to Tompkins, Nov. 17, above, note 3). However, after British representations (above, postscript to letter of the "officer under Commodore Chauncey"), the General's relative, Captain James Brock, who is said to have been in charge of his property, was paroled (*Quebec Gazette*, Dec. 10, 1812; *The War*, Dec. 12, 1812). But James Brock, in a letter printed in the *Quebec Gazette*, Dec. 31, 1812, denies that he had any of the General's "baggage" with him.

⁴⁰Letter to Tompkins, Nov. 17, above, note 3.

⁴¹*Quebec Gazette*, Dec. 17, 1812 ("Extract of a letter from Kingston, December 2").

no attempt to engage them, and this is doubtless the origin of Captain Gray's caustic comment on the Provincial Marine penned just at this time. Nor was Gray alone in his opinion. Rev. John Strachan wrote: "... as to our Navy it is worse than nothing—the Officers are the greatest cowards that have ever lived, and would fly from a single Batteau."⁴² The same clear-sighted and outspoken observer gave his congregation at York on November 22 a very accurate appreciation of the unpleasant significance of the recent events: "Notwithstanding our brilliant success upon land, we are critically situated; our exertions by water have not been equally prosperous, and our naval superiority appears now to be gone. . . ."⁴³

On October 17 the Governor-General had called the attention of the Imperial Government to the importance of having "tried Officers of the Rank of Lieutenant and trusty men from the Navy" available for the Lakes next spring.⁴⁴ On October 26 Prevost had recommended his brother, "a Post Captain in the Royal Navy at present unemployed" to superintend the establishment.⁴⁵ Now, reporting the engagement at Kingston to London, he again urged that the Marine on the Lakes should be taken over by the Royal Navy.⁴⁶ This was done. In 1813 Chauncey was faced by Commodore Sir James Yeo, R.N., a foeman eminently worthy of his steel. Throughout the war, however, there was never a real battle on Lake Ontario. The control of this lake was so supremely important that neither side would risk a decisive engagement without feeling certain of victory. The contest between Yeo and Chauncey was a battle of ship carpenters rather than of tacticians.⁴⁷ The note of caution struck in the little action in Kingston harbour remained to the end the keynote of the war on Lake Ontario.

⁴²To James McGill, "Novr. 1812," in G. W. Spragge, ed., *The John Strachan Letter Book: 1812-1834* (Toronto, 1946), 27-8.

⁴³*The Report of the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada* (Montreal, 1817), 364.

⁴⁴Prevost to Bathurst, P.A.C., Series Q, vol. 118.

⁴⁵Same to same, *ibid.*, vol. 119.

⁴⁶Same to same, Nov. 21, 1812, P.A.C., Series C, vol. 1220.

⁴⁷It is described in two generally accurate papers by General Cruikshank, "The Contest for the Command of Lake Ontario in 1812 and 1813" (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd Series, X, Section II, 1916) and "The Contest for the Command of Lake Ontario in 1814" (Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and Records*, 1924, XXI).

THE KNIGHTING OF FRANCIS HINCKS

COLIN RHYS LOVELL

FRANCIS HINCKS is usually remembered for his part in the growth of Canadian self-government and his work in the Macdonald Ministry after Confederation as Finance Minister, 1870 to 1873. His fourteen years of service for the Imperial Government appear as an interlude in an otherwise exclusively Canadian career. Hincks's appointment in 1855 as Governor of Barbados and Windward Islands, like that of Joseph Howe to the Imperial Fisheries Commission,¹ represented a policy of colonial reformers in Great Britain to utilize in imperial posts the talents of Canadians who had been active in the development of colonial responsible government.

Governor of Barbados and Windward Islands from 1855 to 1860 and of British Guiana from 1860 to 1869, Hincks in both posts with his zeal for efficiency and in his demand for administrative centralization under himself managed to irritate local colonial oligarchies as well as officials sent from Great Britain, both of whom presented vigorous complaints to harried British colonial secretaries.² Particularly vexing to the Colonial Office was the quarrel between Hincks as Governor of British Guiana and its Chief Justice, William Beaumont, a quasi-protégé of the redoubtable Sir Roundell Palmer.³ Almost from the moment that Hincks arrived in the colony in 1862⁴ Governor and Chief Justice with their complaints and counter-complaints made hideous for British colonial secretaries the prospect of opening the official mail from British Guiana. In 1868 the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, briefly Colonial Secretary, found the solution of the quarrel between Hincks and Beaumont by replacing

¹Joseph Howe was a member from 1863 to 1866 of this commission which functioned under the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854.

²The friction between Hincks and other colonial officials and persons is briefly and well set forth in R. S. Longley, *Sir Francis Hincks* (Toronto, 1943), 325-49. As Longley makes clear, there were merits on both sides of the frequent disputes, which engaged the attention of no less than eight colonial secretaries, who however secured a continuity of policy by virtue of there being only two permanent under-secretaries during the years that Hincks was a colonial governor.

³For the numerous points of issue between Hincks and Beaumont see Longley, *Sir Francis Hincks*, 329-38, 347. In 1866 Hincks was briefly in London to state his position to the Colonial Office, which had frankly grown weary with his long letters.

⁴The delay between Hincks's appointment as governor and his arrival in the colony is reminiscent of an earlier day in colonial administration.

both of them. Beaumont went first, but the triumph of Hincks was shortlived, since he was informed that he was also to be relieved. Nor did the Colonial Office mention further employment for Hincks. Hincks, since 1860 a Companion of the Bath for his services in Barbados,⁵ was now disturbed that no further honors were mentioned by the Colonial Office, as can be seen in the following letter from him to the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.⁶

GOVERNMENT HOUSE
DEMARARA 8 July 1868

MY LORD DUKE—

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Grace's private letter of the 16th ult.⁷ and I have to convey my best thanks to Your Grace for the consideration which you have evinced in giving me some notice of the time when I may expect to be relieved. I infer from Your Grace's silence on the subject that it is not your intention to transfer me to any other post. Should this anticipation prove well founded I own that I shall be disappointed, but I am far from insensible of the many claims on Your Grace's consideration, and of the impossibility of satisfying them all. If I venture to bring mine under your notice in this informal way, I trust that Your Grace will believe that I deem it a duty to myself and my family to submit them, and that I feel assured that whatever opinion Your Grace may form of them, You will not object to give them Consideration. I have spent a great portion of my life in the Service of the Crown or of the public. It is now nearly 30 years since I Commenced to take a prominent part in Canadian politics. I was a member of 3 different administrations as Finance Minister, and in the last I was First Minister having been selected by the Earl of Elgin in 1847 to succeed Mr. Lafontaine who shortly after his retirement from public life was created a Baronet. My successor Sir Allan Macnab was likewise created a Baronet, his successor Mr. Taché was knighted, and I am not aware that any individual in Canada who held the position that I did, failed to obtain some honorary distinction at the termination of his political Career. Indeed if I had preferred a claim at the time I can scarcely doubt that it would have been recognized by Secty Sir Wm Molesworth. My actual Service as a Minister of the Crown may have been about 10 years but of course under a System of Parliamentary Government I was some time in actual public life before I attained the Cabinet, while subsequently I was alternating several years out of office. Such was my position when on visiting England chiefly for my health in the year 1855 being then in my 48' year I was most unexpectedly, and without any kind of solicitation offered by

⁵Longley, *Sir Francis Hincks*, 326.

⁶Francis Hincks to Buckingham and Chandos, 8 July 1868, in collected unpublished and unedited manuscripts of Third Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. Permission to quote this letter in full has been kindly given by the Huntington Library of San Marino, California. It is addressed at the bottom of the first page, "His Grace The Duke of Buckingham & Chandos," and has been endorsed upside down by the Duke at the bottom of the last page, "Gov. Hincks."

⁷Search in the above collected MSS has failed to disclose a copy of this letter from the Duke.

Sir Wm Molesworth the post of the Windward Islands. In a letter dated 17 August 1855 which I received while I was travelling in Ireland Sir Wm Molesworth addressed me thus—"The office of governor in chief of Barbados and the Windward Islands will be immediately vacant. If it would suit you to accept it, it would give me very great pleasure to submit to the Queen the name of a Statesman so distinguished in Colonial administration as yourself. Lord Palmerston joins me in the wish that you may be able to undertake the office." I had a very few days previous agreed to accept a lucrative and responsible employment in Canada with all reasonable ground to think that it would be permanent. I however changed my plans and entered on my present career. Your Grace will I am sure perceive that the Governors' pension act operates hardly in my case. I am now entitled to a pension by age, but having been close on 50 when I was first appointed a governor I lose the advantage of all my Colonial Service.⁸ I readily admit that no pension act could be framed that would meet my case, that other governors have suffered in the same way, and that moreover I entered the Service when I had no right to expect a pension at all. I am too gratified for the liberality of the Crown and of Parliament to suffer myself even to think of complaining, but I desire to explain to Your Grace that notwithstanding my having reached the age of 60 yet being in the full possession of my faculties it would have been very gratifying to me if circumstances had admitted of my employment for a few years longer. I have already adverted to the fact of my never having received any honorary distinction at the close of my Canadian political Career, although my predecessors and successors had been so honoured. I advert to this now merely [so] Your Grace may perceive that if I had received the 3d Class of the Bath⁹ in 1854 I should now be high in the list. However in respectfully submitting to Your Grace my claim to the 2d Class¹⁰ I urge it on the ground that it has been customary to confer that distinction on Governors who have completed their administration of a 1st class post. British Guiana [is] in that rank and I venture to remind Your Grace that my predecessors Governors Light, Barkley and Wodehouse were all honoured with that distinction on the termination of their administrations in British Guiana. I venture even to suggest to Your Grace that it would amount to a Censure on my Conduct to suffer me to retire without any recognition of my Services from Her Majesty. I think that I am justified in assuring Your Grace that such a recognition as I have ventured to suggest would be appreciated by all classes

⁸Hincks is referring here to the law of 1865 regarding pensions for retiring colonial governors (28 and 29 Vict. c. 113). Its provisions just missed fitting the needs of Hincks. A full pension, its amount varying from £250 to £1,000 according to the salary of the governor, came only to a governor who at 60 could show service as a governor for the past 18 years or who had 10 years of such service and 15 years in colonial service other than governor. A reduced pension (2/3 of the full rate) came to those governors who had entered their posts after 40 and could show at 60 at least 12 years of such service or 8 years of service as a governor and 12 more since age 40 in other colonial positions. Hincks could not qualify for a full pension, and as he pointed out by inference, his entering the colonial service at 50 meant that none of his time spent in offices in Canada counted toward even a reduced pension. And of course, the provisions for pensions because of mental or physical infirmity did not apply at all to him.

⁹I.e., Companion of the Bath.

¹⁰I.e., Knight of the Bath.

of the inhabitants of this Colony. I feel that I ought to make many apologies to Your Grace for the length of this letter and for intruding at all on Your Grace with a personal matter. Before my term of office at Barbados had expired the late Duke of Newcastle honoured me by acquainting me in very flattering terms that he had appointed me to this post without previous consultation so that this is the first occasion in my 12 years service¹¹ that I have felt called on to address a Secretary of State on a Subject wholly [*sic*] personal to myself.

I have the honour to be
Yr Lord Duke's
Grateful and faithful serv.
F. HINCKS

The ducal holder of the Colonial Office may have been weary when he finished reading this latest of lengthy communications from the Governor of British Guiana. But he found time on the last day of the Disraeli Conservative Government, December 8, 1868, to inform Hincks that he would receive a knighthood.¹² Before Hincks could have received the notification the Disraeli Ministry had given way to the first Gladstone Liberal Government with Lord Granville as Colonial Secretary. Granville was willing to redeem his predecessor's pledge of a knighthood, but not of the Bath. He preferred it to be in the Order of St. Michael and St. George, of perhaps lesser prestige but supposed to give recognition for colonial services. On New Year's Day 1869 the new Colonial Secretary informed the retiring Governor of British Guiana that he was to be a K.C.M.G.¹³ Not long afterward Hincks met his successor and left Demarara for England to be invested formally with his knighthood. The next year saw the new knight back in Canada to resume the career he had dropped fifteen years before.

¹¹Hincks is evidently counting only the years he spent actively administrating colonies.

¹²Longley, *Sir Francis Hincks*, 348.

¹³*Ibid.*

REVIEW ARTICLE

CANADA AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS*

D. J. McDougall

THERE has been an unusual number of interesting and important books on the British Commonwealth, or on particular communities within the Commonwealth, during the past year. Of those here listed, a few, such as Mr. Coatman's *The British Family of Nations* and Mr. Key's *The British Group*, are commentaries on post-war developments and on current problems. The majority are more definitely historical; and among these Mr. Carrington's *The British Overseas* is the outstanding book, a book that will probably take its place at once as one of the most interesting and most convenient general histories of the Empire that we possess. There are a number of studies of foundations, the records of the pioneers who built new and lasting communities in Natal, Rhodesia, and Australia. The volume of documents on the early history of Australia, edited by Professor Clark, is the first in a series being prepared in the University of Canberra. One book in this list is notable for another reason. Mr. Amery's volume on the *Life of Joseph Chamberlain* will be especially welcome, not only for its intrinsic importance, but because of the assurance which it brings that the official biography begun by the late Mr. J. L. Garvin, but interrupted since 1934, will shortly be completed.

On the final page of his history of *The British Overseas* Mr. Carrington emphasizes the unique character of the system whose development he has been recording. By comparison with other great states, and notably with the American Republic, where newcomers from many lands "have been assimilated into a new nationality," the British Commonwealth has been "a diversity, a mosaic of plural societies," each of which could retain its own individual character "without losing the advantage of membership in the greater polity." The remark is not original; but it contains a truth that needs to be emphasized in an age when the pressure of the state and of other forces making for standardization are tending to eliminate differences and to put a premium on uniformity. It may serve also as a starting point for the consideration of a group of books which vary greatly in form, in purpose, and in value. Some of these are local studies, replete with detail that will probably be of interest to few people outside the regions with which they deal. But they are parts of the history of this diversity, and they help to an understanding of what has given distinctive character to certain portions of the mosaic.

In this history of *The British Overseas* Mr. Carrington traverses familiar ground. The claim made by author and publishers that it is the first attempt to write the history of British expansion in full is scarcely admissible. What will be acknowledged is that it is probably the most successful attempt that has

*This is the twentieth review article published by the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW on this subject. For the bibliography of this article see page 154. The REVIEW also publishes in each issue a list of recent publications on Canada's relations within the Commonwealth (see p. 172).

yet been made to present this history in all its bewildering complexity within the compass of a single volume. The author's thesis is that this phase in the historic development of the British race has now come to an end. It has been a mighty development. Within little more than three centuries the peoples of British origin have increased "from something less than seven million to something more than one hundred and forty million"; and the great majority of these people have left the British Isles and established new homes in every part of the world where climatic and other conditions make permanent settlement possible. But the process, in Mr. Carrington's opinion, has now completed itself. "Whatever the Commonwealth may become, it is no longer an extension of the British race, no longer the Greater Britain which Dilke and Seeley applauded." In its effects on mankind this spreading of the British race is here likened to the dispersion of the Jews; and the purpose of the book is to present a history in which the reader may "see this phase as a whole," and one that will provide the facts required for an interpretation of the entire process of empire building.

The book deals mainly with the growth of the Empire since the end of the eighteenth century. In a narrative of more than 1000 pages less than 140 are given to the whole record of exploration, settlement, and administration down to, and including the American Revolution. The interpretation of this early phase does not vary greatly from that of other writers, although there are occasional differences of emphasis. Mr. Carrington shows less enthusiasm for Cromwell's aggressive imperialism than does either the conservative Feiling or the socialist Elton. Nor does he appear to assign much importance to Burke, who is here described as "the sentimentalist," and whose ideas on the government of colonies are represented by one brief quotation. One of the best chapters in this first section is that which relates the growth of British interest and British power in India from the foundation of the Company to the Charter Act of 1833; and later chapters on this subject present an excellent summary of this segment of imperial history, at least down to the last years of British rule.

The later history, from the close of the Napoleonic wars, is dealt with in greater detail. Of that detail Mr. Carrington is always the master; and there are very few books on the subject in which an equal amount of diverse material is presented with such order and clarity. He holds the balance evenly between the various regions with which he is dealing, and between developments abroad and changes in Great Britain which influenced emigration, expansion, and investment, and in various other ways helped to give shape and character to the overseas empire. His judgments on men, pioneers, traders, missionaries, and colonial officials are generally shrewd and always interesting. The work of the colonial reformers is given a good deal of emphasis, and Durham and Wakefield have seldom had a more discerning critic. Like many English writers he regards the "Little Englandism" of Gladstone and the Liberals as something very near to disloyalty; but he also dismisses as "one of the myths of orthodox history" the cherished Conservative legend which makes Disraeli the enlightened champion of the new Empire. That is characteristic of his judgment throughout. He is an imperialist, but it would be difficult to assign him to a party.

In his final reflections Mr. Carrington makes no extensive claims for the achievement which he has been recording. He is evidently uneasy about the possible results of some recent changes, but he ventures no predictions. He does

not minimize the less agreeable features of imperialism; but there can be no doubt as to his final judgment. "Let it be recorded," he says, "that for several generations the British imposed the rule of law by the authority of the Crown upon one-quarter of mankind, while they used its mighty influence for peaceful commerce among all nations." The choice of the verb may be accidental; but the history of many of the regions here dealt with suggests that the rule of law and the possibility of free commerce, intellectual as well as material, are benefits of some importance, even when imposed by authority.

The volume of documents edited by Mr. Simmons under the title *From Empire to Commonwealth* is a useful collection of source material illustrating various aspects of imperial development from the sixteenth century to the present time. It opens with a letter from Henry VII to John Cabot, the usual introduction to the history of English exploration; and it closes with the declaration of the Prime Ministers' Conference in April, 1949, defining India's position in the Commonwealth. The bulk of the material relates to developments in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a choice that is no doubt consonant with the approach suggested by the title. The documents have been selected from many sources. A substantial number are extracts from such works as Grey's *Colonial Policy* of Lord John Russell's *Administration* and Lugard's *Dual Mandate*. Most of them are familiar, and many are already available in other collections. But it is convenient to have this material presented in such compact form; and the book will be extremely useful to students and teachers.

The editor explains that his purpose has been to choose material that will illustrate only "those principles that are still vital," and to disregard what he describes as "ideas of the past that are now dead." That classification will inevitably raise questions in the minds of some readers; and even on his own principles the selection appears in some respects a little curious. Most students of the subject persist in the belief that Edmund Burke and Lord Chatham had something to say on the government of an empire that is still significant. Neither is represented in this collection; nor are any of the more moderate and thoughtful leaders in America during the Revolution. Of the selection on later periods there can be little criticism, although it is evident that what the editor means by "principles that are still vital" are simply those liberal ideas to which he himself subscribes. The historical introduction is adequate; but the interpretation of the navigation system as one of intolerable oppression and the view that the American Revolution was a simple contest between liberalism on the one side and stern, unbending reaction on the other seem a little out of date.

The two little volumes by Mr. Dartford relate the history of the Empire from the reign of Elizabeth in rather simpler terms. The author is an official in the educational service in Malaya, and the books are intended for use in the schools there. They might very well find a place in the libraries of our own high schools. The history follows an orthodox pattern; but the material has been well selected and skilfully organized, and it is presented in a form that makes reading a genuine pleasure. Each section ends with a useful time-chart, and both volumes contain simple tables of necessary data and suggestions for further reading, which include incidentally a good deal of the best English fiction. These books have been written for a special group, but they can be read with interest and profit by a good many people beyond those whom the author had in mind.

In selecting the material for their volume of documents on the early history of Australia Professor Clark and his associate have drawn upon a wide variety of sources. A comparatively small amount has been taken from what may be described as official documents. There are of course a good many extracts from the letters and dispatches of colonial governors, and a good many passages which illustrate the views of Downing Street on such matters as transportation, emigration, and land policy. But a large part of this material, and that the most interesting, comes from the letters and diaries of ship's officers, from the correspondence of convicts and free settlers, and from the personal records of squatters, labourers, and others who made up the heterogeneous community whose foundation is here depicted. The result is a book of unusual interest; and if the series planned by Professor Clark maintains the standard set by this first volume, students will be provided with a unique body of material for the study of Australian history.

This is the record of the formation of a society which began its life under conditions very different from those which marked the origin of any other community in the Empire; and its main interest lies in the light which it throws on the human material. It was, on the whole, a fairly average type of human material, with as much good, and not much more evil than might reasonably be expected in a group living under the conditions that are here revealed, both in their old home and in their new. Throughout the book, and notably in the introductory section and in that on emigration, are many extracts illustrating economic and social conditions in Great Britain and Ireland, especially as they affected the less fortunate classes of society. Many of these are taken from the works of well-known reformers, but every point of view is adequately represented. Other evidence relates to the conditions in Australia, to the reaction of the newcomers, free and unfree, to their new environment, and to the discussion of state policy in such matters as emigration, transportation, and the disposal of crown lands. One important section deals with constitutional development in the several communities which were to become the states of the later Commonwealth. This is a more familiar type of material, and it reveals the speed and the comparative ease of the transition from a convict settlement to a self-governing community. One notable omission is the absence of any evidence of the activity of the churches or religious organizations among the settlers. With that exception this is a very complete picture of the building of Australian society; and for those who wish to go further Professor Clark has provided a list of supplementary reading and a brief discussion of sources, especially those to be found in Australian archives.

To move from this study of foundations to the problems discussed in Mr. Garnett's *Freedom and Planning* is to be made aware of the progress which the Australian people have made during the past century. The theme of this book is fairly familiar—the successes, limitations, and possibilities of what is here described as “democratic social planning”; and much of what has been written on the recent history of Australia and New Zealand has turned in some measure on this problem. The author is persuaded that the conditions of life in Australia do not differ greatly from those in the United States, and that lessons derived from Australian experience may be of service to the American people. The assumption seems a little doubtful, but it does not impair the value of his study.

The most valuable portions of the book are those which relate the growth

of the social service state. The investigation extends into the internal history of the more important states before federation, and more particularly to the actions and policies of the Commonwealth government since 1900. That type of state is now fully developed; and Mr. Garnett believes that, if full employment can be maintained, its structure is not likely to be impaired. Like most writers on the subject, he is convinced that this is not socialism in any real sense of that term. It is merely the extension of democratic methods to the economic and social problems of a highly industrialized community. The major question is whether the process will stop there, or whether the Australian people will go on to construct a genuinely socialist state. The criterion seems to be nationalization of industry. That is the avowed policy of the Labour party, as is made clear by an article contributed to this volume by two members of that group. But Mr. Garnett points out that the socialism, even of the Labour party, is not especially doctrinaire; and from his study of experiments in the nationalization of certain industries, he concludes that any general scheme of socialism is unlikely. The present régime is based upon a foundation of private enterprise, and there is every reason to believe that that will continue. "Private enterprise," he says "is well protected, both by public opinion and by the constitution"; and this was written before the recent defeat of the Labour party. The book concludes with three short articles in the nature of manifestoes by members of the chief political parties in Australia. Mr. Garnett has little to say that is entirely original; but his discussion is always fresh and vigorous, and he is dealing with a subject of highest importance to every democratic community.

Mr. Miller's volume on New Zealand is also in large measure a study in the working of social democracy. It is an outline of the history of the country, but the emphasis is on that feature of New Zealand society which has attracted the notice of so many writers since the publication of André Siegfried's masterly volume in the early years of the present century. There is no doubt much in the history of New Zealand that is instructive. But very few writers since Pember Reeves have succeeded in making it especially interesting; and Mr. Miller is no exception.

The best chapter is that which deals with the reforms carried out by the Seddon ministry. These measures, the author declares, were designed to secure substantial equality within a capitalist society. They were not intended to destroy that type of society. Seddon himself is described as a socialist, but Mr. Miller observes that "his socialism was nearer to that of Lord Salisbury than to that of Karl Marx." The final chapter contains some interesting observations on New Zealand's present position among Pacific powers, and on her altered relations, on the one side with Great Britain, and on the other with the United States.

In his study of Burma Mr. Hall has a more difficult task. British rule in that country is still a subject of intense controversy, and some skill is required if anything like an objective view is to be achieved. But he has some excellent guides; and for that portion of his book which deals with British rule he has drawn largely on Mr. J. S. Furnivall's admirable study of *Colonial Theory and Practice*, which was examined in an earlier number of this REVIEW (XXX, 1949, 353). That subject occupies about one-half of the book; and for most readers that will no doubt be the most interesting and instructive part. But the problems with which the new rulers had to deal can be understood only

in relation to the history of the peoples who occupied the peninsula; and Mr. Hall's outline of that earlier history goes far to explain the internal condition of Burmese society, and the divisions which persisted under British rule, and which indeed have persisted to the present time.

The era of British rule divides naturally into two periods. During the first period, down to about the end of the nineteenth century, a loose and not especially efficient administrative system was superimposed on a traditional type of village self-government. There was a good deal of experimentation, but the end result was a species of indirect rule, in which established Burmese custom generally tended to prevail over the "liberalism" of the new rulers. The change came in the 1890's, with the establishment of the normal type of crown colony government and a marked increase in the strength and efficiency of the civil service. This change, together with a large investment of foreign capital and an enormous increase in foreign labour, drawn mainly from India, profoundly altered both the government and the internal structure of Burmese society. Mr. Hall describes the result as "an emasculation of the ancient forms of self-government," and the substitution of "the mechanical logic of the law court" for the old, easy-going method of compromise.

He describes with admirable clarity the changes in the economic life of the country and the agitation for responsible government which followed the Act of 1919. But there is one minor inconsistency in his conclusions. He believes that "dominion status" never made any appeal to the Burmese people. It was too subtle a concept for their simple idea of politics. Yet he considers that this would have been a more desirable solution, in the interests of the country itself, than complete independence; and he is evidently of opinion that, had the people been given an opportunity to weigh all the issues involved, this would have been their choice.

Of the books which deal with British communities in South Africa two are studies in foundations. Mr. Hattersley's volume on the first British settlement in Natal is a detailed and scholarly account of one of the most successful projects of organized emigration in the history of the Empire. A good deal of space is given to a study of economic conditions in those parts of England from which most of the settlers came. Many of them were farmers and agricultural workers, but the greater number were from London and the industrial areas, where life in the 1840's was dreary and unpromising. They were drawn in the main from the middle and working classes. Financial aid was often required, although very few of the settlers appear to have been destitute. The evangelical churches took an active interest in the movement, and several of the groups were organized and financed by religious bodies. Mr. Hattersley has had no predecessors in his field, and the greater part of his book is based almost entirely on primary sources. From a mass of petty detail he has constructed an interesting account of the actual building of a society, literally from the ground up. Politics have a very small place, although there is a summary of the growth of institutions down to the establishment of responsible government in 1893.

Mr. Gale's book on Southern Rhodesia is a different type of history. No doubt it is proper to describe the province as a "Heritage of Rhodes"; and the book is written in fact to commemorate the diamond jubilee of the occupation of the region by the forces of the Royal African Company. But the great imperialist does not figure very prominently in the story, and Mr. Gale is

clearly non-committal in his judgments. He pays high tribute to Dr. Jameson, Rhodes's principal agent in the region. But his history makes it plain that the real founders of the modern colony were the successors of these men—Sir William Milton, who headed the administration until 1914, and Sir Charles Coghlan, who, as leader of the reform party, freed the country from the hold of the Company and secured the establishment of responsible government in 1922. This is evidently intended as a popular survey, and no attempt is made to deal in great detail with the topics upon which it touches. But there are some vivid chapters on the occupation and the hardships of the early settlers, especially during the native uprisings of the 1890's; and there is a good deal of interesting material on relations with the natives as the white community gradually took shape, and on the growth of the country's economic and political institutions. The interest is enhanced by a number of excellent character sketches of leading figures; and the book is written in a manner that will attract many readers and make it a very useful introduction to the history of the country.

Sir Charles Coghlan occupies a place in the history of Southern Rhodesia comparable with that held by Robert Baldwin in the history of Canada. Little has previously been known of his work; and it is unfortunate that Mr. Wallis should have given to his biography a title which conveys no indication of its subject. In another respect, too, the title is misleading; for although Coghlan was the most prominent of the men who fought to free their province from the stranglehold of Rhodes's Royal African Company and to secure responsible government, he was by no means alone in that struggle. In one sense his work was a continuation of that of Rhodes and Jameson. He was disturbed by the ruthlessness with which they pursued their objectives; but he yielded nothing to them in his enthusiasm for British rule, and in his determination that the territory should remain exclusively British. In another sense he was an opponent; for he did more than any other man to secure the abolition of the Company, whose control of the railways and of land grants and mining rights effectually blocked the economic and political development of the province.

Coghlan's work, from his settlement in Bulawayo in 1903 to his death in 1927, was central to the history of Southern Rhodesia. Until 1914 the attack was directed against particular privileges of the Company. From the end of the war the issue was broadened to a demand for cancellation of the Company's charter and the grant of full responsible government. Victory on both points was secured in 1922, but not without a struggle; for in this contest Coghlan had to deal with two of the most powerful men in the British Empire, Winston Churchill at the Colonial Office, and Jan Christian Smuts, Prime Minister of South Africa. Apart from that, the Company was not altogether without friends in high places. This struggle is the most important episode in Coghlan's career, probably the most important episode in the history of Southern Rhodesia. The story is related by Mr. Wallis with admirable clarity and precision. His narrative is based largely on Coghlan's own letters, and these chapters alone would more than justify his work.

Coghlan's objections to the policy urged by Smuts and Churchill have received added significance by recent events in the Union. He insisted that the decision rested with the people of Rhodesia, and that the first step must be the establishment of complete self-government. He believed that Smuts's own position was precarious, and that the future of the Union lay with the

nationalist and anti-British forces which he despised. "We in Rhodesia," he declared, "wished to have no part or lot in a union which apparently had the constitutional right and, as far as the Dutch element was concerned, all the will to cut us adrift from the British flag and carry us along with them, whether we liked it or not." Mr. Malan's most recent announcement of the intention of his party to break the last link with the Crown and to establish a republic in South Africa is a significant commentary on Coghlan's policy. He was an Irish Catholic and an ardent supporter of John Redmond; but he had no patience, either with the extreme nationalists in South Africa, or with the Sinn Fein party in Ireland. Coghlan was one of the most remarkable men in South Africa during this generation. If Southern Rhodesia can fittingly be described as the heritage of Rhodes, it is equally clear that the form which that community has taken was due in the main to the work of Coghlan and his associates; and it is to be hoped that this book will make his work known to a wider public.

Professor Siegfried's *African Journey* consists of a series of articles originally published in *Le Figaro* during a leisurely trip through the Belgian Congo, Rhodesia, and the territory of the Union. There is a certain amount of repetition, but each essay covers new ground; and on most of the subjects which he discusses the author has something to say that is enlightening or challenging. The journey itself is perhaps an indication of his belief in the immense importance of South Africa to the Commonwealth, and indeed to the whole free world. This is especially true, as he observes, in times of crisis, when the Suez Canal lies so open to attack. Yet the future of the country, beset as it is with problems whose magnitude and implications can scarcely be measured, is extremely uncertain. Professor Siegfried is not a pessimist; but he does not minimize the gravity of the situation, in particular the danger in which the representatives of "white civilization" are placed, a danger that is certainly not being lessened by the policies of the present government in South Africa.

From a more general point of view the most interesting essays in the book are those in which Professor Siegfried discusses the whole problem of Commonwealth relations, and the role of white civilization in Africa. On the first point he is moderately sanguine. He thinks it probable that South Africa will eventually adopt a position similar to that of India; but he is convinced that the ties with Britain and the Commonwealth are real and necessary, and that the nationalist leaders, however extreme their statements, are fully aware of that. On the second point he is more doubtful. He is deeply impressed with the manner in which "the European powers have been falling back" in the past few years; and he believes that, without some great new impetus that will give to the peoples of Europe a renewed faith in themselves, their position in the world will undergo a change, the consequences of which cannot be foreseen.

Of the books dealing with larger and more fundamental problems of imperial history Mr. Amery's volume on the *Life of Joseph Chamberlain* is clearly the most important. It covers a crucial period in the life of Chamberlain and in the history of the Commonwealth: the last phase of the Boer War, the making of peace and the beginnings of reconstruction in South Africa, the Colonial Conference of 1902, a number of Chamberlain's measures for the West Indies and other tropical dependencies, and the origins of the campaign for tariff reform. In Mr. Amery Chamberlain's literary executors have found a worthy successor to the late Mr. Garvin. The son of one of Chamberlain's

most ardent disciples, and himself an imperialist of this same school, he is apparently in complete agreement with the subject of his biography on every issue here considered. But within the limits imposed by that very definite point of view he has written a remarkable book, and one that suffers not at all by comparison with the earlier volumes in this series.

A substantial part of the book deals with affairs in South Africa, and the baffling intricacies of that problem have never been revealed more clearly. The author has had access to sources not previously used; and the correspondence here published, especially that between Chamberlain and Milner, contains some of the most illuminating material on this crisis that has appeared. Until the close of the war the two men were in complete agreement; and on the ultimate goal, as well as on most of the measures for its attainment, that agreement continued. But Milner was convinced that the first step to the union of the four provinces was the suspension of the constitution in Cape Colony. That could be done only by an act of the imperial parliament, and Chamberlain was resolutely opposed to any such plan. Milner's "calculated indiscretion" in publishing an open letter supporting Rhodes and the party which favoured suspension was an obvious attempt to force the hand of the Colonial Secretary. But the attempt was a signal failure, and at no time did Chamberlain demonstrate more convincingly that he was master of the department which he administered. The crisis occurred during the Colonial Conference in 1902; and it is noteworthy that Chamberlain consulted the prime ministers of the dominions on the question. With one exception—the Prime Minister of Natal—they strongly objected to Milner's policy; and it is evident from this narrative that their opinion weighed heavily with Chamberlain.

To Canadian readers, and to readers in other Commonwealth countries, the chapters on this Conference of 1902 will be of particular interest. No official report of the Conference has ever been published; but a detailed record of its proceedings is preserved among Chamberlain's papers, and this record forms the basis of Mr. Amery's account. For Chamberlain it was not altogether a happy experience. His cherished plan of imperial federation met with no response. "It was not criticised," says Mr. Amery; "it was simply ignored." And on another point Chamberlain found himself in serious difficulties. His efforts to persuade the Canadian delegates that British trade had not benefited from the preference granted in 1897 were met by Fielding and Patterson with figures and arguments so convincing that the Colonial Secretary was forced to beat a retreat, and to acknowledge that he had been misinformed. "It is obvious," says Mr. Amery, "that he had been badly briefed"; and Chamberlain would no doubt have agreed with the concluding remark: "At this point the Conference was mercifully adjourned."

These chapters on South Africa and on the Conference are perhaps the best in the book; and they are among the best that have been written anywhere on these subjects. But of course the book contains much more. Mr. Amery is disposed to make large claims for his hero. He regards him as "the saviour of the Conservative Party," as the man who "saved the United Kingdom from disruption" at the hands of Gladstone and Parnell, as the originator of the Anglo-Japanese treaty and of the *rapprochement* with France. On many of these points there will be difference of opinion. But there can be no difference on the towering personality of Chamberlain himself, which, in this as in earlier volumes, is the central theme. His popularity throughout the

Empire is attested by many opinions; and the force and clarity of his own views on almost every subject are revealed in the many letters, memoranda, and other documents which Mr. Amery here publishes. Of special interest are his judgments on many of the men from all parts of the Empire with whom he came in contact. He was greatly impressed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier; but his sketch concludes with the sad reflection: "I am afraid he is not an imperialist as we understand that term." He discovered that very few of the colonial statesmen with whom he had to deal were imperialists of the type that he would have preferred.

Mr. Coatman's little volume on *The British Family of Nations* is a useful survey of recent developments and of current problems in all parts of the Commonwealth. There have been many such books in the past few years, which perhaps confirms the author's remark that it is only in times of crisis that the British people give much thought to the ideas and principles which underlie this unique development. The discussion of present conditions is preceded by a short historical introduction, with some emphasis on the measures of the Puritan Commonwealth and on the ideas of some of the more liberal thinkers in the period of the American Revolution. Like most English writers the author attributes the growth of responsible government solely to the genius of Lord Durham, without any reference to the colonial statesmen who evolved the idea and demonstrated its practicability.

The later chapters contain an adequate account of political and economic conditions in all parts of the Commonwealth. The assumption throughout is that the goal is full national autonomy for each individual community, and the author appears a little sanguine on the ease and speed with which this is to be realized. The most interesting chapters are those which describe present methods of consultation on all levels. There are some minor inaccuracies and a good deal of rather careless writing; but as a popular survey of a large subject it will be useful to many readers.

Mr. Key's book, *The British Group*, is in some respects a complementary volume. Its purpose is indicated by the subtitle. The greater part of the text is given to an examination of economic and social conditions in all parts of the Commonwealth. In most cases these surveys are illuminating; but the work on the whole is superficial, and there is little evidence of the "deep delving into obscure chronicles" and other sources claimed by the publishers. A great deal of space is given to the African dependencies and the Union of South Africa, and the author appears to be more familiar with these regions than with such countries as Canada and Australia. There is some interesting discussion of the Colonial Welfare and Development Act and of the enlargement of this scheme since the war; but the optimism with which Mr. Key writes of the now famous "ground nut" experiment suggests that his book is a little out of date.

Professor Hancock's two lectures on the *Wealth of Colonies* provide a useful corrective to the vague optimism of such books as Mr. Key's, and even more specifically to the theories of some of our left-wing intellectuals on the nature of modern imperialism, and on the effects of this "last phase of monopoly capitalism" in under-developed areas. A portion of the first lecture is given to an examination and, as it appears to this reviewer, an effective rebuttal of Lenin's charge that the investment of capital in backward regions has almost always resulted in the "impoverishment and servitude" of these regions.

Indeed, if any general conclusion can be drawn from the diverse evidence, it would seem to be the exact opposite of that laid down by Lenin and accepted by his disciples.

But the larger purpose of these lectures is to suggest something of the complex "interaction of economic, social and political factors" upon which the advancement or stagnation of such regions depends, and to warn against the shallow optimism that sees in the latent wealth of colonies an easy solution of Europe's present economic problems. There is, in the author's opinion, no possibility of any rapid development. The capital and the men required are simply not available; and this fact has a direct bearing on present plans for rapid development of self-government in the colonies. Political and economic advancement are dependent on one another; and however earnest the desire of Downing Street or of colonial politicians, there can be no certain progress towards self-government without a corresponding measure of economic prosperity.

In a final passage Professor Hancock sums up his view of the present situation, based on a realistic appraisal of actual conditions. "Our Commonwealth," he observes, "has had a long history, and some persons of a narrow political outlook assume, as they have done in the past, that it is approaching its close. But if we take the true measure of human needs and dangers and opportunities in this age, we shall find ourselves summoned to make a new beginning." That same spirit is evident in the discussions of the Fourth Unofficial Conference of Commonwealth delegates held at Bigwin Inn in September, 1949 and reported in Professor Soward's volume, *The Changing Commonwealth*. The meeting was preceded by the circulation of papers prepared by scholars in Great Britain, Canada, and elsewhere; and the most interesting part of the book is that in which these papers are summarized. The most important of these "data papers" was Professor Mansergh's volume on *The Commonwealth and the Nations*, already reviewed in these columns (XXX, 1949, 345-6). Canada's position and problems were dealt with in papers by Professors Brady and Harrison, while Britain's present policy and her inescapable interests in western Europe were set forth in a paper by Sir Charles Webster.

The discussions which followed concerned such questions as the present position of the member nations, their relations with the United Nations Organisation, the problem of defence and of Commonwealth strategy, and a number of economic issues, including the urgent problems of exchange and inter-Commonwealth trade. As is customary in these conferences, no conclusions were reached, and no resolutions were adopted; but Professor Soward's summary gives a clear impression of the many, and occasionally conflicting points of view of the delegates. There was singularly little discussion of the old and slightly threadbare subject of national status, although the Asian delegates and those from South Africa were perhaps a little sensitive on the question of their sovereign rights. The debates and discussions turned on more vital matters; and if there are no solutions here recorded, there is abundant material for a study of opinion throughout the Commonwealth on problems that must be solved, if there is to be any future for the Commonwealth, or for a free world.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Canadian House of Commons: Representation. By NORMAN WARD. Canadian Government Series, 4, R. MACG. DAWSON, editor. Toronto: University of Toronto Press—Saunders. 1950. Pp. xii, 307. \$5.00.

THIS is a good book. Norman Ward has brought to his task sound scholarship, a gift for clear lucid prose, and good judgment. The result is a book which ought to be read for instruction by every member of Parliament and for improvement and pleasure by the public at large.

The author begins with the nature of representation in Canada with particular reference to Burke and Mill. Are members delegates from their constituencies or representatives exercising their own judgment? There follow chapters on redistribution, the qualification and disqualification of members, the independence of Parliament, the payment of members, and the personnel of Parliament.

The history of redistribution, divided by Mr. Ward into two periods with 1892 as the breaking point, is fascinatingly interesting. At the outset, redistribution was regarded as a political weapon in the hands of the government and was ruthlessly used as such. The details of the gerrymanders of the Macdonald era are all here in detail and almost pass belief. Improvement, carried out by Liberals, took the form of redistribution by a committee of the House of Commons on which all parties are represented. Agreement is usually reached in the committee but if not, as was true of the Bennett redistribution, open and uninhibited party warfare ensues. There is nothing, as Mr. Ward shows, more calculated to arouse homicidal passions in an Opposition member of Parliament than the manipulation of constituencies for party advantage by the Government majority. Mr. Ward indicates that further progress could be made if redistribution were handed over to a commission or to the Chief Electoral officer. Practical experience in politics would indicate to the reviewer that the first is the wiser course. The Chief Electoral officer must live with the Government-of-the-day and no matter how carefully his independence may be protected, it is impossible to guard against intimidation. The argument here could be extended and illustrated if space permitted. On the commission proposal, of course, it would be necessary to avoid a partisan body. The real guarantee of fair dealing here is not so much the procedure as public opinion. One good point about a House committee is that the public is kept continually informed.

To the reviewer, the most interesting and stimulating discussion in this part of the book (pp. 32-4) deals with the difference between rural and urban representation. How did it come about that a rural voter is worth two or more urban voters? Should this practice be continued? If so at what ratio? In Manitoba, to illustrate, it was discovered in 1949 that the ratio had grown to be 4 to 1, that is, one rural voter had the same weight as four urban voters. There has since been a change for the better, but this urban-rural balance is a continuing and important factor in our government.

There follow four chapters on the members of Parliament. The history of the qualifications for candidature and the system of dual seats is most interesting. On the independence of Parliament—the law forbidding members to accept money or other payments from the Crown (much less effective since

the invention of the limited liability company)—Mr. Ward finds that our law is not sufficiently severe. Some of his criticism here would seem to err on the side of perfection. However, his final sentence has the truth of the matter: "... in the final analysis the independence of Parliament cannot depend on law, but is based on the integrity of the members." On the payment of members, Mr. Ward makes out an unanswerable case for reform. The absenteeism in the present House of Commons, indulged in chiefly by the members from the central provinces without loss of pay, is much greater than is commonly supposed. All manner of interesting facts on members are collected and analysed in these chapters—the turnover, the age of entry, economic interest, and post parliamentary careers.

The remainder of the book deals with numerous aspects of elections. Every aspect is covered except campaign funds which are excluded because in the author's judgment they are part of the history of political parties rather than of the institutions of Parliament. Mr. Ward writes of the nominating of candidates, of polling, of election officials, of the voters' lists, of the franchise.

As pure history, the story never lags or falters. There may be a nostalgic charm about the good old days of ballot-box stuffing, of holding bush polls, and so on, but nothing shows more clearly an advance in public morality than this record. We began, at Confederation, with the open ballot, a restricted franchise (16 per cent of the population only being able to qualify as voters) multiple voting, every conceivable form of electoral dishonesty, and piecemeal general elections spread over a period of two months with the government calling the votes first in the safe seats. We gradually won the secret ballot, a one-day general election, "one man one vote," and an end to most of the deviltries. And if a partisan sentence be permitted, these reforms almost in entirety were the achievements of the Liberal party.

There are, however, innumerable points of immediate importance brought out by Mr. Ward. He deals constructively with such questions as compulsory voting (it has a long history with us) and its counterpart, the transferable ballot, with the spoiling of ballots, the failure to vote, disfranchisement, corruption, and election expenses.

A reviewer is tempted to out-write his allotment of space in the hope of enlisting readers. Here—in the election machinery—is the procedural heart of our political system. The worst system may elect good members and *vice versa*. But where improvements are possible and clearly identifiable, how essential it is that they be adopted! And in the reverse, where history demonstrates, beyond argument, that changes widely believed to be desirable are otherwise, how discouraging that the facts, here set down, do not reach the mass of the people.

Many instances both ways could be given. One on the negative side must suffice. Mr. Ward shows by the statistical record that the single transferable ballot, unless it be linked with compulsory voting, is virtually without merit. Out of 225 elections in Manitoba, under the single transferable ballot, only four results have been changed. In Alberta out of 246 contests, the figure is 6.

On disfranchisement, Mr. Ward makes a point which ought surely to commend itself to Parliament. The ballot is denied to judges, criminals, lunatics, wards of the state, such as treaty Indians and Eskimos, some Canadians of Oriental birth, and Doukhobors. Apart from all else, do our judges merit this treatment?

To a westerner it is odd to find this book closing on the theme—so common in other aspects of our national life—of the exploitation of the rest of Canada by Ontario and Quebec. "To the multitude of circumstances which give central Canada the preponderance of advantage in the national economy," concludes Mr. Ward, "the representative system, broadly viewed, must be added."

GRANT DEXTER

Winnipeg, Manitoba

Histoire du Canada français depuis la découverte. By LIONEL GROULX. Montréal: L'Action Nationale. 1950. Pp. 221. \$2.00.

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L'Evêque errant. By GERMAIN LESAGE. Ottawa: Les Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa. 1950. Pp. 345. \$2.00.

MUCH French-Canadian historical scholarship is characterized by an avid interest in detail or by a rather romanticized rendering of the major theme. Four recent books in French exhibit these traits in a varying degree.

M. Audet's general review of the Quebec school system falls into the first category. It is a neatly documented and comprehensive outline of the historical development and contemporary condition of all levels of education in the province of Quebec. Dates, charts, and statistics abound. It will be a very useful reference work, and one looks forward to the second volume in the series which will deal specifically with the history of education in that province from 1608 to 1867.

Father Lesage's *L'Evêque errant* belongs clearly to the other category, for it is in style more of a historical novel than an academic biography of Mgr Ovide Charlebois, O.M.I., missionary in the Le Pas, Cumberland, and Duck Lake area from 1887 to 1903, and Bishop of Keewatin from 1910 to 1933.

The latest number of *Les Cahiers des Dix* contains some highly detailed articles. Gérard Malchelosse's "L'Immigration des filles de la Nouvelle-France au XVII^e siècle" is an itemized but interesting examination of this favourite topic. The essay, however, which catches one's fancy immediately is Jean Bruchési's "Champlain a-t-il menti?" M. Bruchési claims that Champlain did not command the *Saint-Julien* and, indeed, that he was not even a crew member (under his own name in any case) of the ship in which in his *Bref Discours* Champlain said he led an expedition to the West Indies and Mexico in 1599 for the King of Spain. While this article may not fulfil the dire prediction of Mgr Olivier Maurault, the editor, that "it will make the readers' hair stand on end," at least it will cause a few eyes to pop, especially in Quebec where Champlain and his writings have always been above suspicion.

Canon Groulx presents in his *Histoire* a condensed account of French-Canadian history from the discovery of Canada to the Treaty of Utrecht. It is neither romantic nor overly detailed. Indeed, one might complain that in some respects it is not specific enough. There are, for instance, no references or footnotes at all, and there is no bibliography. These are serious omissions, though it should be noted that the *Histoire* is obviously intended to be popular rather than academic, having been based upon a course of lectures in history

which the Canon broadcast. Nevertheless, this makes even more pertinent the criticism that the three maps included are not well done; the reader will have great difficulty in deciphering the place names which are inscribed in minuscule.

One feels also that there is too little about Acadia in the book, and perhaps too much comparatively about the Talon period. A third of the volume is devoted to the twelve years 1660-1672. The explanation may lie in the fact that the Canon, who refers to Carlyle at this point (p. 70), attaches great importance to three persons: Talon, Colbert, and Louis XIV. While no one would underrate the significance for New France of these three men, one is inclined to disagree with some of the author's remarks, especially about Louis XIV.

It is hard to accept either portion of the sentence, "Le jeune roi a plus que du génie—si le génie fait penser à quelque chose d'un peu désordonné—il a du bon sens" (p. 70), and the statement on the same page that he excelled "dans la choix de ses auxiliaires." Louis was no genius and he sometimes was wanting in common sense, particularly in military matters and in the choice of his officials.

Although one might agree that after the inauguration of the election of the syndics from Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, "le colon de la Nouvelle-France a joui d'institutions plus libérales que le Français de la métropole" (p. 79), one balks at the statement that thereafter "l'élément démocratique continuera de s'y renforcer" (p. 78). This tiny assembly scarcely earns the title of "petit parlement" with which the author honours it.

Moreover, his defence of Louis XIV against the charge of despotism vis-à-vis colonial affairs is rather weak (pp. 83-5). One gets nowhere by arguing that the monarch had to preserve law and order and that he was unable to make the colony prosperous because of external conditions. All governments are faced by the same problems, and the definition of autocracy turns not on what the problems were but on how and with what state of mind the government attempts to solve them. The implied definition of the term "libéralisme métropolitain" on page 112 is also rather unusual.

It is fair to remark, however, that in spite of the obvious technical blemishes and these differences in interpretation the Canon's first volume in his series is informative and makes good reading.

PAUL W. FOX

Carleton College

The Atlantic Civilization: Eighteenth Century Origins. By MICHAEL KRAUS. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, for the American Historical Association. 1949. Pp. xii, 334. \$3.75.

At a time when the idea of an Atlantic community is expressing itself through arrangements for mutual defence, it is well that we should also have repeated emphasis of the common ideas, aspirations, and points of view which alone give that community, or civilization, its reality, but which are too easily overshadowed by what appear to be more pressing and practical considerations. For over a century and especially in the United States, the fact of the Atlantic community was effectively obscured by the illusion that the American Revolution had isolated America and created something completely different and independent—an illusion which persists in certain quarters even in our own day.

Professor Kraus's book can scarcely be expected to destroy popular illusions, but we owe him a debt for a scholarly study which broadens and deepens our understanding of the Atlantic community in the eighteenth century, and which emphasizes that point that it is no new thing, that it has its roots deep in the past, and that in its cultural aspects it was not destroyed by the American Revolution. While his book deals ostensibly with the "New World," it is in fact concerned almost solely with the Thirteen Colonies and their cultural relations with Western Europe, especially England. Professor Kraus has been at pains to emphasize the American side of the interrelationship since he believes with some justification that historians have underestimated its importance. In illustrating his thesis, Professor Kraus has marshalled a great wealth of illustrations and brought together material from a very wide range of sources. Among the major themes dealt with are communications, religion, books, the arts, science, medicine, nationalism, and cosmopolitanism.

While the book has little direct bearing on Canadian history, it does provide material for a better understanding of the broad setting in which all the eighteenth century American colonies were developing. It is also of interest in raising the question of the possibility of a much more thorough examination of Canada's cultural contacts than has so far been made. Some of Professor Kraus's material, it is true, seems inconclusive, or merely coincidental, or even trivial. Part of this difficulty is of course unavoidable, since it will always be impossible to measure exactly the elusive effects of cultural contacts. A closer study of such contacts in Canadian history would, however, undoubtedly yield rich results, and in particular in the case of Canada much more attention might be given than Professor Kraus has done to contacts through institutions such as universities, churches, and even business organizations.

GEORGE W. BROWN

The University of Toronto

Bishop's University: The First Hundred Years. By D. C. MASTERS. With a foreword by Principal A. R. JEWETT. Illustrated. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited. 1950. Pp. xii, 253. \$3.00.

THIS little work is an intimate and quite personal sketch of the progress during a century of a Church of England foundation, written by its Professor of History. It will be welcomed by the graduates and friends of the College for whose information and pleasure it evidently was mainly designed. Indeed the last 92 pages are devoted to a list by years of the graduates, about a quarter of whom have their careers traced after the manner of *Who's Who*. Thirteen of the seventeen illustrations are of benefactors or officers. Alumni will doubtless find much to interest them in the description of student activities and escapades reproduced from early correspondence and from the *Mitre*. Certainly this delightful corner of the Eastern Townships was just the sort of place where a lively and distinctive college life would naturally be developed.

The reader who is interested in trends of university education in Canada, however, will find himself wishing that Professor Masters could have expanded his chapter on "Bishop's Tradition." Here in less than five pages he assesses the importance of British, local Canadian, and American influences, respectively, for the College. Several questions disturb the reader. Had its French-speaking environment no influence whatever on Bishop's? Was it a mere coincidence

that a period of expansion commenced (and attendance increased from 60 to 160 during six years) with the selection of a Canadian as Principal of an institution whose traditional policy had been to appoint men from Oxford and Cambridge? Does the present prosperity of Bishop's afford proof of an assured place in Canada for the small college with church connections and a broad curriculum emphasizing humane studies?

While the format is excellent, repetition has not always been avoided. For instance, was it necessary to describe those wooden flues on page 19 and again on page 50? Or to begin three of the four paragraphs on pages 85-6 with the words "Important developments," "Two important developments," and "Two important building projects"?

Surely Professor Masters is in error in his explanation (p. 17) of why Bishop's did not secure the right to confer degrees under its original act of 1843. The ground assigned, as quoted from an unspecified authority, is that degree-conferring powers were "held to be properly derivable from the Royal Prerogative." As a matter of fact, Victoria College at Cobourg was granted precisely this power by Act of the Legislature in 1841; its Royal Charter secured in 1836 was for a preparatory school known as Upper Canada Academy. And if Queen's replaced its authority to confer degrees under an Act of the Legislature of 1840 by a Royal Charter in 1841, it was not because this Act had been vetoed, as Professor Masters supposes, or declared invalid, but because the Kirk, sponsors of that institution, wished to change its name from the *University at Kingston*, which it bore under the Act of 1840, and because, desiring to be furnished with royal patronage and a royal name like King's at Toronto and Victoria at Cobourg, they perceived that it was indecent to superimpose a Royal Charter upon a mere provincial Act. Hence the trustees themselves sought disallowance.

What was the "important change" (p. 160) made in the University Act in 1947 as a result of which Mr. John Molson became president of the Corporation?

C. B. Sissons

Victoria College, Toronto

Agrarian Socialism: The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan: A Study in Political Sociology. By S. M. Lipset. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press; Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1950. Pp. xx, 315. \$5.00.

For the historian, the most valuable aspect of this account of the development of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan is to be found in Professor Lipset's contention that the movement is not socialist at all, at least in the classical definition of that term. It is true that early leaders of the Saskatchewan C.C.F. were convinced socialists and the original programme of the party called for nationalization of land according to orthodox socialist theory. But the failure of such an appeal to attract any widespread support among the farmers led to a modification of the platform in favour of the traditional agrarian demands of "security of tenure and stability of farm income." Professor Lipset shows how the success of the C.C.F. under this new approach was materially assisted by the great advances in the fields of co-operative marketing and agrarian political independence already achieved by

such organizations as the Wheat Pool and the Farmers' Union of Canada. It was, therefore, as a party voicing the point of view of the wheat grower and with a leadership drawn largely from those who had already served an apprenticeship in both the educational and economic aspects of the farmers' movement that the C.C.F. finally achieved power in 1944.

Once in office the difference in point of view between the doctrinaire socialists and the agrarian reformers became more and more apparent. In practice the new Government limited the application of socialist theory to the fields of labour relations and social welfare and even there its attitude became increasingly conservative the longer it remained in office. The leaders found that in order to retain their parliamentary majority they had to follow a moderate course. Another factor acting as a brake on the Government was the lack of a convinced socialist civil service ready to carry out the new reforms and the C.C.F. were precluded by their own advocacy of an independent civil service from carrying out a general housecleaning which would have enabled them to build up their own bureaucracy. The three chapters dealing with the administrative work of the C.C.F. Government throw an interesting light on the difficulties facing a party dedicated to making radical alteration in the *status quo*.

It is unfortunate in a work of such general usefulness that the author has made a number of misleading statements about the early history of the Saskatchewan farmers' movement. The concentration on sociological statistics has also led to a serious slighting of the role of particular individuals in determining the course of agrarian politics in the province. The very different history of the farmers' movement in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and North Dakota, all regions having approximately the same economic, geographical, and social background, is due in large part to the difference in the quality and character of leadership in the three areas.

The absence of a bibliography and the placing of all the footnotes at the end of the book, while doubtless a result of the need to reduce publishing costs, are none the less annoying.

WILLIAM K. ROLPH

The University of Saskatchewan

The England of Elizabeth: The Structure of Society. By A. L. ROWSE. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd. [Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd.]. 1950. Pp. xvi, 547. \$5.00.

In this volume, which is the first of two under the general title *The Elizabethan Age*, Mr. Rowse sets out to portray the structure of Elizabethan society. In his preface he tells us that he has followed a logical order, starting with a physical description of the country and an account of its economic resources, its agriculture, industry, commerce, finance, and its towns; with this background he goes on to analyse the class structure and then proceeds to examine the system of government, the administration, and the place of law, religion, and education in society. His main concern is to connect these topics to his central theme, the social structure of the age, which does not preclude his relating a variety of colourful anecdotes to illustrate his points. This leads him, perhaps unavoidably, to overlap the field that he has sketched out for his second volume, "the achievements of the age in action and the life of the mind."

The England of Elizabeth is an important book, because, based on a very wide range of secondary authorities as well as much original research, it achieves a new integration. Particularly good use is made of research in local history, which is to be expected from the author of *Tudor Cornwall*. Where Mr. Rowse ignores the conclusions of other historians (for example in his rather summary account of the Elizabethan church settlement) it is presumably intentional, for he obviously is a man of strong opinions.

The chapter entitled "The New Wealth: Economic Advance" is a useful and enlightening summing-up of much recent research in economic history. The chapter on the "Social Classes" is of particular interest, although it is by no means complete. The author is only concerned with the classes who counted. Among his main conclusions are these, that "the rise of the gentry was the dominant feature of Elizabethan society" (p. 235), and that "this was the classical period in the formation of the English governing class" (p. 298). In this connection he accepts a good deal of the findings of the Tawney school, but discounts what he considers socialist bias.

The chapter on "The Government of the Realm" contains little that is new for the constitutional historian, but Mr. Rowse is less interested in institutions than in the people who ran them. As a result we are here treated to a number of excellent pen pictures of Elizabeth and her ministers, especially Burghley. But Mr. Rowse manages to indicate the supreme importance of the latter without belittling the central role of the Queen, who stands for everything he cherishes. Rather oddly Elizabeth is compared on one occasion to Roosevelt because "she was a great *prima donna* in the realm of politics" (p. 273), while Burghley as "a religious man" is likened to Gladstone!

Mr. Rowse is less happy when he deals with the subject of religion. At the beginning of his chapter on the Church he protests his impartiality on the grounds that he is "a dissenter from all the sects." Hence he feels free to insult all Christians who have the courage to suffer for their convictions, and he heaps his ridicule on those who would waste time on such foolish matters as doctrine and dogma "when all this intellectual energy might have gone into channels that were remunerative" (p. 387). Queen Mary was a silly woman, "who thought religion more important than money" (p. 119). Catholics and Puritans are dismissed as "fools (or knaves)" (p. 390) and Christianity is referred to as a "myth" (p. 437). Anglicans will find little comfort in his smug analysis of the Elizabethan settlement. He says that the Elizabethan episcopacy has been misjudged and then proceeds to gather together a number of scandalous stories, because they are too good to miss. (He introduces these anecdotes about bishops by saying "Let us look at a clutch of them"!)

This is a scholarly work in its scope and its research, but the pen is that of the popular essayist. The vagaries of his style are likely to irritate his more exacting readers, for his pages are full of references to our own times (at least six in the first chapter), breezy colloquialisms (Norwich is "told to get cracking," p. 162; a local rise in population is described as "pretty good going," p. 221), and hearty exclamations of approval or disgust ("A precious lot of good it did!" he says of Arundel's prayers for the success of the Armada, pp. 199-200). Mr. Rowse always says what he thinks. He is sure that there have never been any people on earth like the English; but he sadly contrasts Gloriana's glorious age with the drab uniformity of socialist Britain: "It is open to us to prefer the consumption of what the society produces on

one dead level, a shared and equalized mediocrity, offering no excitements, no inducements, no interest even—dreary tenements in place of Elizabethan palaces, the ability of all to go to the cinema instead of an elect society that made the music and drama of that age" (p. 110). A fellow-countryman of his on reading the book observed to me, "Excellent stuff, but what bad manners!" I fully agree, but one must read it through to appreciate the significance of the remark.

The format of the book is attractive and greatly enhanced by 24 excellent illustrations, but there are at least half a dozen misprints or cases of foul type.

J. B. CONACHER

The University of Toronto

L'Eglise catholique et la Révolution française. I. Le pontificat de Pie VI et la crise française (1775-1799); II. L'ère napoléonienne et la crise européenne (1800-1815). By ANDRÉ LATREILLE. Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1946; 1950. Pp. viii, 280; iv, 292.

WHATEVER are the bonds that attach French Canadians to their ancestral motherland, and they are many and strong, none the less, as all careful observers know, there are profound differences between the French of Canada and the French of France. Perhaps the differences are a little less today, especially in urban centres such as Montreal, Quebec, and Ottawa, than they were a generation ago, but on the whole they remain intact and vital. No one who wishes truly to comprehend the mentality of the French Canadians, not only their historic and continuing attitude toward France but also their cherished ideals and the goals toward which they strive, the traditions to which they give assent, can hope to accomplish this understanding without examining closely the nature of these differences.

When one propounds the question, What are the differences, and whence do they arise?, it is found that the answer lies almost entirely in the realm of history. And in the different historical background of the two areas the chief dividing point is as much the French Revolution as the British conquest of Canada. It has been said before that French Canada is France without benefit of the French Revolution. This is a *cliché* in historical circles but like so many such generalizations its truth is too often unexamined even by students of history.

What then does this statement mean? To the admirers of the French Revolution it no doubt implies that French Canada is backward, old-fashioned, in need of modernization. They are likely to shrug it off, let it go at that. To those who look a little deeper it means that the first Frenchmen who settled in Canada were men and women of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. They had the outlook of a generation that had lived through the catastrophe of the religious wars in France and had emerged into the great days of Henri IV and Cardinal Richelieu, of France resurgent, powerful, glorious, the leader of Europe and of the Catholic Reformation. It means that the views of that generation, under the guidance of missionary leaders, became the fixed traditions of the new colonial society. To them was added, during the following century the influence of Jansenism, a powerful Catholic puritanical movement, which recent research has shown to have had far greater

and more lasting influence in French Canada than had hitherto been supposed. While France was heading towards revolution the French in Canada were preserving and building upon these enduring traditions. When the Revolution came to the home country French Canada was basically unaffected—the British conquest had largely guaranteed that—and it continued to be what it had been. Henceforth France at home moved rapidly away from France in Quebec. This is what must be understood, and this is where Professor Latreille's admirable book comes into the picture.

There are two ways in which the study of the differences may be approached. One is by examining the survival of the older French traditions in French Canada. This is the line along which most research has been and is being done in Canada. The other way is to build up a clearer idea of what happened in France. Despite the flood of works upon French history, written in France and elsewhere, this aspect tends to be somewhat neglected in this country. Yet to do so is surely to give an unbalanced conception of Canadian development, and an incomplete view of the outlook of the French Canadians. For this reason works such as this one of Professor Latreille should be read with great care in Canada.

Professor Latreille of the University of Lyon, one of France's most distinguished living historians, has made a painstaking and scholarly enquiry into the question of what happened to the Roman Catholic Church in France during the critical revolutionary and Napoleonic period. Why was there so great an attack upon the Church? What was the nature of that attack? What measures were taken against the Church, and what was done to set up substitutes for it? How did it come through the crisis, and in what form did it survive? These are some of the important questions he takes up. In doing so he has not only surveyed and evaluated the previous literature on the subject, but he has also added a good deal of fresh material drawn chiefly from the Vatican archives and from sources in Lyon. The new information is particularly significant for the Napoleonic period, and there Professor Latreille has done much to clarify the picture. Most of all he has given a better-balanced appraisal, certainly from the point of view of the Church a more sympathetic though by no means uncritical one, than has hitherto been the case. This is a work of first-class scholarship. At the same time it is well written, eminently readable, and a distinctly penetrating interpretation.

RICHARD M. SAUNDERS

The University of Toronto

War and Human Progress: An Essay on the Rise of Industrial Civilization.

By JOHN U. NEF. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders and Company Limited]. 1950. Pp. xii, 464. \$8.75.

THE publishers' note calls this book "a synthesis of industrial cultural and military history," and, for once, a publishers' note is correct. Mr. Nef set out to study the interrelation of war and industrial civilization but he knew that, to do this fruitfully, one must study the relation of both war and industrialism to the history of Western civilization as a whole.

If the book has a thesis, it is that it was not war, but limitations upon war, which made the birth and growth of industrialism possible, and that—these limitations having been progressively removed during the last century and a

half—an "economy of abundance" is now free to make war on a scale hitherto unknown.

This thesis is not imposed on, but emerges from, a study of three periods: that of the revolution in the art of war at the end of the fifteenth century and of the "early industrial revolution"; that of limited warfare and humane civilization (from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century); and that of the last 150 years of industrialism and increasingly large-scale war.

From a study of the first period (1494-1648), Mr. Nef is unable to agree with Sombart either as to the importance, or as to the constructive character, of war in bringing about the birth of industrialism. He concludes that, so far as this period is concerned, "such constructive consequences as the Europeans derived from military preparations were more than offset by the economic damage caused by these preparations and by war itself," and that war was not, in these years, a major cause of technological improvement. The developments which were most important for the beginnings of industrialism were most noticeable in Great Britain, which enjoyed relative peace, and, in general, in the 150 years which followed the discovery of America, "the inventive ingenuity of the Europeans was manifested, in the main, independently of military requirements."

Mr. Nef's account of the period between the end of the religious wars and the beginning of the revolutionary wars is a study of the interaction of the means to wage war and the will to wage it. It is important to emphasize the fact of *inter-relation*. The will to waste lives and material in decisive war would be pointless if the men and materials were not available. But the providing of the men and materials has been dependent on the general acceptance of an idea, which was not, in itself, military: the idea of expansion. In the age of Newton, that idea had still not won general acceptance. Scientists (the case of John Napier is an example) still trailed remnants of the medieval notion that wisdom is more than knowledge and, in consequence, they took seriously "the question . . . whether it would be possible for genius to devote itself wholeheartedly to practical improvements without contributing equally to improvements in destruction." Similarly, despite the early English industrial revolution and the hopes of Bacon and Descartes, "the idea of expansion" had still to dominate methods of manufacture. In the age of classicism, "industry was still concerned more with making things well than with the abundance of things."

The history of the last period is one of the steady removal of these limitations, both technological and spiritual. Mr. Nef distinguishes sharply between the economic expansion of the eighteenth century (in which "the older values of splendour and beauty and polite manners were blended, in almost equal proportions, with the newer values of increased output and mechanical efficiency") and the later industrial revolution. In the first, throughout Western Europe and on the Atlantic coast of North America, the *rate* of economic progress was uniform to a degree which had not been seen since the thirteenth century and, as Gibbon proclaimed, this common economic experience was part of a general community of culture which Europeans were achieving for the first time since the religious division of the Reformation. The industrial revolution, proper, not only increased the tempo of industrial expansion but also destroyed this uniformity. Even among the European peoples, different nations underwent economic change at different times and to different degrees

and, as non-European countries were drawn into the orbit of industrialism, differences in cultural experience multiplied. On the spiritual side, the optimistic view of human nature which grew out of the Enlightenment relieved the technical inventor of his scruples. If original sin was a myth and mankind destined to inevitable progress, then only good could follow from the application of human intelligence. If material improvement was a symptom of increasing intelligence, and increasing intelligence a pledge of goodwill and peace, then scientists could devote themselves to material improvement without doubts as to the use to which their discoveries would be put.

Because Mr. Nef (with Niebuhr and Butterfield) sees that "men . . . have stumbled unwittingly an unnatural distance towards evil by the very fact of denying its existence or of identifying it exclusively with the human elements they dislike," Canadian historians should not take this book to be only another tract for the times: what Professor Underhill calls "the currently popular religious ranting about man's original sin." It is economic history drawing upon the history of technical invention, of art, of architecture, of fiscal policy, of military, physical, and political science, of philosophy, and of manners. As such, it is a brilliant essay in the bringing together of knowledge from many fields.

H. N. FIELDHOUSE

McGill University

Historians and Their Craft: A Study of the Presidential Addresses of the American Historical Association, 1884-1945. By HERMAN AUSUBEL. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University, 567. New York: Columbia University Press [Toronto: Oxford University Press]. 1950. Pp. 373.

WHEN a historian becomes president of a national historical society and in due course has to give a presidential address, he only too often sheds all the sound historical knowledge he has acquired and about which he can talk with scholarship and distinction, and feels bound by the force of tradition to pick some generalization relating to the writing of history and painfully to elaborate it with sixty minutes' worth of words. During the last twenty-five years I have listened to twenty-two addresses by presidents of the American Historical Association, and of the scant three or four that I would be willing to listen to for a second time, each one tended to abandon this tradition, to stick mainly to the field which the speaker had made his own, and to take little stock of obvious generalizations.

Unfortunately it is the traditional type of address that furnishes the material from which Mr. Ausubel has compiled his book, and the formula that he has used in doing so might be described as of the filing-catalogue type. He first of all, no doubt, read the sixty-one addresses delivered by the presidents of American Historical Association between 1884 and 1945. He then set up six filing boxes, one each for the following topics: the immediate usefulness of history, history as literature, facts in history, the science and philosophy of history, individuals in history, and the proper content of history. Into the appropriate file he put such sections of an address as seemed to deal with any of these six topics, the historian's words being boiled down to a few paragraphs or, at most, to a very few pages. These synopses were then strung

together, split up into chronological sections under each heading, and the ten chapters of the book were practically complete. It is true that Mr. Ausubel also tells us who each historian was, and on occasion quotes a parallel passage from some other of his works, but in any real independent analysis or conclusion this book is completely lacking.

In the first three chapters, dealing with the usefulness of history, the author discovers that historians are almost passionately eager to find material justification for their chosen study, but neither he nor his presidents, as seen through his eyes, seem to justify history on the ground of its value in training the mind. The most that the chapter on history as literature produces, is that, if you are capable of it, it is a good idea to write history that can be read with pleasure. Incidentally, Mr. Ausubel's own style is inclined to be rather pedestrian, though he is easier to understand than are some of the quotations he gives from his presidential authorities; but he has the horrible habit of referring to historians as "gildsmen," and flaunts this piece of phony pedantry on almost every page. The chapter on facts in history has no conclusion more profound than that facts are all right, but there must not be too many of them; ironically enough, Mr. Ausubel does not in this matter really understand his presidents, for they did not contend, as he suggests, that "the fact was not the thing" (p. 188); they were worried about what that something commonly called a fact really was. It is only when the author gets to the content of history that he produces his one legitimate conclusion—that these addresses show that the so-called "New History" was well understood long before it was preached as a gospel by James Harvey Robinson (p. 332).

In short, this book is an exercise in historical compilation that might well have been left unpublished, for the only result of reading it is to discover that there was a great deal to be said on both sides of these questions, and that the presidents of the American Historical Association were just the fellows to say it.

E. R. ADAIR

McGill University

SHORTER NOTICES

Louis Jolliet, vie et voyages (1645-1700). By JEAN DELANGLEZ. Les Etudes de l'Institut d'Histoire de l'Amérique française. Montréal: Editions Granger. 1950. Pp. 435, with maps.

For our day and age the definitive life of the great explorer, Louis Jolliet, may be considered to have been written. Probably future research will turn up more details of his career, but the general outline and not a little detail of his life are admirably sketched in this book, which appeared in English in 1948 as *Life and Voyages of Louis Jolliet (1645-1700)*, published by the Institute of Jesuit History. There are many minor differences between the two editions, but generally speaking they are fundamentally the same. The English form seems to have been given more editorial supervision, resulting in greater suppression of polemics and personal partisanship.

Long research in French and Canadian archives gives a sureness of touch to the author's treatment of his subject, which has been absent from all earlier accounts of Jolliet's life. Though Father Delanglez still carries on his private

war with Pierre Margry in this book as in his many earlier books and articles, his conclusions in this instance seem warranted to this reviewer. It is not an easy book to read, for of necessity the reader must compare texts and maps critically. Close reasoning is never light reading. To the student of seventeenth-century North America, however, these difficult chapters are the significant ones, for they are frequently based on new or hitherto obscure data.

After a chapter on the explorer's early life, Father Delanglez takes up in successive chapters the extent of knowledge about the Mississippi River prior to 1673, the Jolliet-Marquette exploration on that river in 1673, Jolliet's life from 1674 to 1679, his voyage to Hudson Bay in 1679, his life as seigneur of Anticosti, and his two trips to Labrador, about the first of which the author has little information. The final chapters also take up Jolliet's important work as royal hydrographer, his maps and surveys of Labrador and the St. Lawrence, and his last years and death. This mere listing of chapter topics is misleading, for included in the principal chapters are learned discussions of the backgrounds of Jolliet's activities, such as trips by earlier explorers to Labrador, Hudson Bay, the Mississippi country, and other areas. One of the author's greatest services is the publishing of the biography in both French and English, for it is not given to most scholars to be equally at home in both languages, as Father Delanglez obviously was.

GRACE LEE NUTE

Saint Paul, Minnesota

Blood Red the Sun. By WILLIAM BLEASDELL CAMERON. Revised edition with a foreword by OWEN WISTER. Calgary: Kenway Publishing Company. 1950. Pp. xiv, 225. \$2.50.

TWENTY-FIVE years ago this reviewer read Mr. Cameron's *The War Trail of Big Bear*. It was a fascinating experience even for a college freshman. Here was real flesh and blood, not merely historical dust. The book under review is a reprint of *The War Trail of Big Bear* under a new title. Why the change in title? Two short chapters have been added, and some of the rough spots in the text have been smoothed out, although the explosion of General Strange's 9-pounder gun is still described as an "earth-rocking roar" (p. 161) despite Judge Howay's objections in his review of the original book in the *Canadian Historical Review* (VIII, March, 1927). But it is essentially the same book and it tells in a simple, convincing way the story of the Frog Lake Massacre, the fall of Fort Pitt, the engagement at Frenchman's Butte, and the fate of the Indians who participated in the Northwest Rebellion of 1885. Mr. Cameron, the sole white man to survive the Frog Lake Massacre, gives an eyewitness account. He has a graphic tale to tell and tells it with sympathy for the Indians whose prisoner he was for several weeks.

The present edition has fewer illustrations than the original and lacks the map which appeared opposite page 208 in the earlier book. This last is a most serious omission from the standpoint of the reader unfamiliar with the north Saskatchewan country between Battleford and Frog Lake.

GEORGE F. G. STANLEY

Royal Military College of Canada

Cradled in the Waves: The Story of a People's Co-operative Achievement in Economic Betterment on Prince Edward Island, Canada. By J. T. CROTEAU. With a foreword by E. A. CORBETT. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1951. Pp. x, 149. \$3.25.

PROFESSOR CROTEAU, now Associate Professor of Economics at the Catholic University of America in Washington, was for thirteen years at the heart and centre of the co-operative movement in Prince Edward Island. His account of his experiences is a warm and human document worthy of particular attention in the adult education movement in this country and in courses in community organization in schools of social work.

Many Canadians would be well advised to read this brief account both for pleasure and for information. For this reviewer, this was a rare opportunity to learn a good deal about Canada's smallest province, as seen through the eyes and in the experience of an American who was not familiar with our Canadian parliamentary system. Dr. Croteau came to Prince Edward Island in 1933 to assume the lectureship in Economics and Sociology at Prince of Wales College, the Provincial Normal School, and at St. Dunstan's University, a Catholic diocesan institution.

His teaching duties alone were very arduous. Soon, however, he found himself enacting a pioneer role and assuming leadership in an emerging co-operative movement which was actively supported by the Roman Catholic Church. He and a few associates became highly skilled, through experience, in organizing local credit unions, co-operative stores, producer co-operatives, and even co-operatives designed to provide medical services to these then economically depressed and badly served Canadians. The obstacles were enormous, embracing political and religious conflicts, traditional economic habits and folk-lore, and sheer inertia.

The achievements were equally enormous and within a few years much progress could be reported. By 1946 the co-operative movement on Prince Edward Island included some 25 co-operative societies of all types—stores, fishermen's factories, creameries, and warehouses—with an annual business of almost \$2,000,000. Fifty credit unions with assets of \$650,000 had loaned over \$1,500,000 to members. Local organizations had been co-ordinated at the provincial and national levels (p. 144).

For the student of community organization there is much to be learned. The significance of political factors, the essentials of organizing communities at the grass-roots level while facing ingrained prejudices of long standing, the importance of hard detailed work and then more and more work, are all brought in, in an undistinguished but simple and pleasant style. There are exceptionally pertinent comments on the role of the radio in adult education.

ALBERT ROSE

The University of Toronto

Art of the Northwest Coast Indians. By ROBERT BRUCE INVERARITY. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press [Toronto: Oxford University Press]. 1950. Pp. xvi, 243, with illustrations. \$12.00.

THE author has brought to this work twenty years' research among the tribes of the northwest coast together with personal ability both as an anthropologist and as an accomplished artist. He presents here a glimpse into a remarkable Canadian way of life now gone forever.

Mr. Inverarity's primary aim "to present works which have not been previously reproduced" negates his sincere effort "to show in a general survey the range and richness of the entire art." He has laid heavy emphasis on certain tribes and almost ignored others. He has also dismissed all but the most cursory examination of totem poles on the grounds that they have been dealt with by others; and of basketry and weaving because they are "less important" than sculpture and painting. Basketry and weaving are, however, the sole artistic outlet allowed the women of this area so that such an omission creates a basic lack of balance which seriously limits the value of the book.

The text is adequate for an introductory work although, from an anthropological standpoint, it shows a lack of theory. This deficiency is most apparent in statements on cultural borrowing and on totemism and its role in Indian culture. The lack of maps except for an outline sketch contained in the end papers causes some inconvenience.

From an artistic viewpoint the text is perhaps too general. It does not attempt to isolate the various tribal styles or evaluate their artistic contributions. One can only deplore the exclusion from the bibliography of recent (1949) works on the northwest coast by Paul S. Wingert and Robert T. Davies and the inclusion of outdated material by Lucian Levy-Bruhl and Hilaire Hiler.

Nevertheless the professional researcher and the interested layman will find much in this book that is exciting and useful. Mr. Inverarity has produced the best general introduction to the art and culture of the northwest coast yet published, has enhanced it by the liberal use of superb illustrations, and has presented it, beautifully bound, on excellent paper.

MARGARET C. PIRIE

The University of Toronto

Public and Republic: Political Representation in America. By ALFRED DE GRAZIA. New York: Alfred A. Knopf [Toronto: McClelland & Stewart]. 1951. Pp. xiv, 262, lx. \$5.10.

MR. DE GRAZIA, an academic political scientist who has been a campaign manager in Chicago elections, brings both theoretical knowledge and practical experience to his study of the history of American representative institutions and of the ideologies and interests which lay behind them. He starts from the premise that "representation" includes not only that normally achieved by an election but also any process by which one person or group comes to exercise any functions of, and influences on, government on behalf of other people. Thus he concerns himself with the theory and practice of the "virtual representation" of the American colonies in the English Parliament and also with the existence and the activities of such more recent agencies as the political lobby, government departments, and commissions appointed for specific government purposes.

Public and Republic is the most complete treatment yet published of the history of American representation and the only one to cover the whole field from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries and to examine plans, electoral systems, and the philosophies which produced them. The author portrays a continual struggle between "direct representation" attempting to express the will of the community through various electoral devices and the efforts of interest-groups exerting an essential influence on government.

A similar treatment of "representation" under the parliamentary-cabinet system of Canada would be interesting. Among other uses which it would have would be that of showing by contrast whether the conflict between "direct representation" and the interest-groups has been increased in the United States by the "separation of the powers." Mr. de Grazia did not discuss that problem at all. The administrative devices which he classed as indirect representation have, of course, their place in Canadian government but there has not been the same necessity to control them nor, on the other hand, has there been a tendency on the part of direct democracy to smother them out of existence. "Special lobbies" have been found either not necessary or ineffective; but "respectable" pressure groups like the farm interests do not appear to have been unduly hampered in their activity.

It is a serious reflection on American thinking about such administrative problems that a book like this apparently assumes that the "separation of the powers" is so essential that no examination need be made of its responsibility for weaknesses and difficulties in the administrative system.

R. A. PRESTON

Royal Military College of Canada

Herbert Hoover's Latin-American Policy. By ALEXANDER DECONDE. Stanford Books in World Politics. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 154. \$3.00.

THIS volume provides a straightforward, readable, and complete survey of the Latin-American policies of the Hoover administration, which scholars, in their preoccupation with other problems of the period, have tended to overlook. In view of the extent of the study, the narrative inevitably had to be general but the footnote references and impressive bibliography reveal the author's mastery of the literature of his subject. In addition, Dr. DeConde refers to many hitherto untapped sources, such as Hoover's private papers.

The author has not exaggerated the contribution of Hoover. For example, he concedes that the tariff policy of his administration was a weak spot. He also shows to what extent the Roosevelt "good neighbor" policy was indebted to Hoover and declares that in many ways its real beginning was Hoover's Latin-American policy. However, he admits that the concept of "good neighbor" was not original with either Hoover or Roosevelt.

In his preface the author states that "wherever possible, some indication is given as to how opinion, both in the United States and south of the border, reacted to these [Hoover] policies." In many cases he has done this but it does seem to this reviewer that more discussion of opinion should have been "possible."

The format is attractive and the Index is excellent, but the title-page should carry the year of publication.

J. J. TALMAN

The University of Western Ontario

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED IN THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS
BY MARGARET JEAN HOUSTON

Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review.

The following abbreviations are used: *B.R.H.*—*Bulletin des recherches historiques*; *C.H.R.*—*Canadian Historical Review*; *C.J.E.P.S.*—*Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*; *R.H.A.F.*—*Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*.

See also the quarterly bibliography published in the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, and, in the *University of Toronto Quarterly*, "Letters in Canada," Part I, English-Canadian Letters, published each April, Part II, French- and New-Canadian Letters, published each July.

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X. ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

See the quarterly bibliography published in the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*.

XI. ETHNOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, AND ARCHAEOLOGY

(Contributed annually since 1925 by Professor T. F. McIlwraith)

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- I Dressed Me All in Feathers (*Journal of American Folklore*, LXIII (248), Apr.-June, 1950, 181-4). A note on the occurrence of a European folk-song in a few widely scattered regions of Quebec.
- Indian Captivities (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCIV (6), Dec. 22, 1950, 522-48). A study of the published literature on white settlers captured in New England in the eighteenth century, together with

manuscripts in the Greenwood Collection, brings out a mass of valuable ethnological material on native customs. Of equal interest is the record of white captives who, having been adopted, refused to leave their foster-parents and return home. This led to a considerable infiltration of New England blood into the Indian tribes of Upper New York and Quebec, as well as the introduction of various culture traits.

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- BUCKHAM, A. F. Indian Engineering (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XXXX (4), April, 1950, 174-81). A description, well illustrated with old photographs, of bridges built by the Indians of northern British Columbia. Considerable engineering skill was shown in these structures; many of those described appear to have been built in the nineteenth century, others may be earlier.
- BUSHNELL, G. H. S. Some Old Western Eskimo Spear-throwers (*Man*, XLIX, Nov., 1949, 121). A description, with an excellent illustration, of four Western Eskimo spear-throwers, collected by Admiral Swaine between 1792 and 1795.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA 183

- BUTLER, EVA L. and HADLOCK, W. S. Dogs of the Northeastern Woodland Indians (*Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society*, X (2), 1949, 81-9).
- CAMERON, WILLIAM BLEASDELL. *Blood red the sun*. Calgary: Kenway Publishing Co. 1950. Pp. 225. A new edition of a volume, long out of print, by a participant in the Northwest Rebellion of 1885, with a detailed description of the Frog Lake massacre. See p. 168.
- CAMPBELL, BRUCE D., translated by RAMIER, C. DU. *Au pays des grands vents: Cinq ans chez les Esquimaux*. Paris: Hachette. 1948. Pp. 275.
- CARPENTER, EDMUND S. The Role of Archeology in the 19th Century Controversy between Developmentalism and Degeneration (*Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, XX (1-2), Jan.-June, 1950, 5-18). An interesting and scholarly discussion of eighteenth and nineteenth century thought regarding the origin of the American Indians, clearly reflecting the philosophy of the period.
- CARSON, JANE. Archaeology in Huronia (*Honey Harbour Hoots*, June, 1950, 29-31). A brief and popular description of recent archaeological work in Huronia and its significance.
- CARTER, GEORGE F. Plant Evidence for Early Contacts with America (*South-western Journal of Anthropology*, VI (2), summer, 1950, 161-82). The presence in the south Pacific islands and in America of such cultivated plants as the yam, sweet potato, hibiscus, cotton, and the bottle-gourd offers strong evidence of significant trans-Pacific culture contact. It is suggested that the original home of at least one variety of maize may have been Asia. Data of this kind, obtained from a study of domesticated plants, may prove of major importance in tracing the origin of elements of New World culture.
- The Cemetery at Fort Ste Marie 1639-1649 (*Martyrs' Shrine Message*, XIV (3), Oct., 1950, 62-3, 77). A series of extracts from the *Jesuit Relations* concerning the cemetery at Ste Marie; its probable location was discovered in 1950.
- CLÉMENT, ANDRÉ. L'emploi des minerais ferreux dans l'Amérique précolombienne (Congreso internacional de Americanistas, XXVI (Seville, 1935), *Trabajos*, I, Madrid, 1948, 136-42). Although iron, in the usual sense of the word, was not worked in pre-Columbian America, there was wide use of meteoric iron, as well as of hematite and of pyrites.
- COLLIER, JOHN. The Indian Bureau and Self-Government: a Reply (*Boletín indigenista*, X (1), marzo, 1950, 34-47). A spirited reply from the former United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs to criticisms made by John Embree of American policy regarding Indians. Embree's article, which was republished in *Boletín indigenista*, was cited in this bibliography, C.H.R., XXX (1), March, 1950, 98. A further rejoinder from Embree is appended to Collier's article.
- COLLINS, HENRY B. Excavations at Frobisher Bay, Baffin Island, Northwest Territories (Preliminary Report) (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 118, *Annual Report of the National Museum for the Fiscal Year 1948-1949*, Ottawa, 1950, 18-43). Though described as a preliminary report, this is a thorough description of the material excavated at a stratified site on Baffin Island in the eastern Arctic. The lower level was of Dorset material, on which was a sterile layer, and on this in turn was an early Thule deposit. This type of evidence is of major importance in tracing prehistoric Eskimo culture.
- CRANSTON, J. HERBERT. *Huronia: The Cradle of Ontario History*. Barrie: Huronia Historic Sites and Tourist Association. 1950. Pp. 44. A popular description, prepared primarily for tourists, with an account of the life of the Hurons based

on historical and archaeological evidence. The volume is enriched by sketches by C. W. JEFFERYS.

- CREIGHTON, HELEN. *Folklore of Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia*. Canada, Department of Resources and Development, Development Services Branch, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin no. 117, Anthropological series, 29. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1950. Pp. v, 163. This important collection of folk-lore contains elements of German, Irish, Indian, and other origins. In relative isolation, the farming and fishing people of Lunenburg County have retained a wealth of folk traditions, including an active belief in witchcraft, and a wide range of proverbs, sayings, and miscellaneous beliefs.
- Folklore of Victoria Beach, Nova Scotia (*Journal of American Folklore*, LXIII (248), Apr.-June, 1950, 131-46). As might be expected in folk-lore from Digby Gut, Nova Scotia, incidents, beliefs, and interests all centre on the sea. The number of ghost traditions is surprising.
- CRYER, B. M. *The Flying Canoe: Legends of the Cowichans*. Victoria: J. Parker Buckle Co., Ltd. [1949.] Pp. 48. Five Cowichan legends, recorded in an entertaining but accurate style.
- DAVIS, ROBERT TYLER (introductory text by). *Native Arts of the Pacific Northwest: From the Rasmussen Collection of the Portland Art Museum*. Photography by WILLIAM REAGH; layout and typography by ALVIN LUSTIG. Stanford Art series. Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press. 1949. Pp. xiv, 165, 4 colour plates, 194 illustrations. \$7.50. Reviewed in *C.H.R.*, XXXI (2), June, 1950, 195-6.
- DENSMORE, FRANCES. Folk-songs of the American Indians (*The Masterkey*, XXIV (1), Jan.-Feb., 1950, 14-18). An interesting general description of Indian songs and their place in native life.
- DOUVILLE, RAYMOND. L'épopée des petits traiteurs (*Cahiers des dix*, XIV, 1949, 41-63). A description of trade in the seventeenth century in Quebec as carried out by French traders with Indians of different tribal groups.
- DOYON, MADELEINE. La chanson du capitaine Bernard (*Les archives de folklore*, IV, 1949 [1950], 57-61). A transcription, with music, of a French folk-song from the country of Beauce.
- Folk Dances in Beauce County (*Journal of American Folklore*, LXIII (248), Apr.-June, 1950, 171-4). A description of the traditional folk-dances surviving in Beauce County, Quebec.
- DRUCKER, PHILIP. Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast (*Anthropological Records*, IX (3), University of California Press, 1950, iv, 157-294). This is an important contribution to our knowledge of the Nootka, Kwakiutl, Bella Coola, Tsimshian, Haida, and Tlingit of coastal British Columbia. After a brief summary of each of these tribes, and their subdivisions, the author lists the distribution of almost eighteen hundred elements of culture, using tabular form to indicate presence or absence. This is supplemented with fairly long descriptions of many of the objects or practices summarized, line drawings being used with good effect where relevant.
- EKHOLM, GORDON F. Is American Indian Culture Asiatic? (*Natural History*, LIX (8), Oct., 1950, 344-51; 382). An informative and provocative article, listing and illustrating a wide range of objects and of art motifs from America and Asia having striking resemblances. It is an important contribution to the study of New World culture origins.
- ENGEL-BAIERSDORF, ERNA C. VON. The Mongolian Spot and Other Characteristics of the American Indian (*Museum and Art Notes*, second series, I (3), Sept., 1950,

- 14-15). Among the biological characteristics which prove affinity between the American Indians and the Mongols, one of the most conclusive is the occurrence of the Mongolian spot, a dark mark on the small of the back, present at birth and disappearing at the age of five or six.
- ESQUIVEL CASAS, AURELIANO. El problema del indio (*América indígena*, X (1), enero, 1950, 63-80). A plea for governmental action in regard to Indian educational and cultural work, with emphasis on the need for bilingual teachers and for co-operation between national governments.
- ESTREICHER, ZYGMUNT. Die Musik der Eskimos (*Anthropos*, XLV (4-6), July-Dec., 1950, 659-720). In this comprehensive and scholarly study of Eskimo music, the author discusses the types and forms of Eskimo musical compositions, analyses their structure, plots the distribution of musical elements, and puts forward an hypothesis regarding the development of Eskimo music, taking into account comparable developments among other peoples.
- FENTON, WILLIAM N. *The Roll Call of the Iroquois Chiefs: A Study of a Mnemonic Cane from the Six Nations Reserve*. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, CXI (15). Washington: Smithsonian Institution. (Publication 3995.) Feb. 16, 1950. Pp. iv, 73. This is a detailed study of a carved wooden cane, formerly used in the Condolence Ritual of the League of the Iroquois, as practised on the Grand River Reserve, near Brantford. The designs and symbols assisted the user in remembering the names of the reputed founders of the League, whose memory was being eulogized. This approach has led the author into a scholarly study of Iroquois symbols; and also of the number and tribal affiliations of the chiefs designated on the cane, and hence to the structure of the League.
- FISHER, REGINALD G. A Summary of the Relation of North American Prehistory to Post-glacial Climatic Fluctuations (Congreso internacional de Americanistas, XXVI (Seville, 1935), *Trabajos*, I, Madrid, 1948, 334-40). An attempt to correlate archaeological and geological periods in North America.
- FRÉMONT, DONATIEN. Les aborigènes du Nord-Ouest canadien au temps de La Vérendrye (*Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada*, XLIII, 3^e série, sect. I, 1949, 7-21). A summary of La Vérendrye's observations on the Indians of what is now western Ontario and the Plains, throwing light on French attitudes, policy, and knowledge in the eighteenth century.
- FUENTE, J. DE LA. Notas sobre el artículo "El problema del indio" (*América indígena*, X (2), abril, 1950, 119-28). A plea for the study and use of native Indian languages in educational work among the Indians.
- GIDDINGS, J. L. New Light on Early Man in Alaska (*Bulletin of the Philadelphia Anthropological Society*, III (2), 1949 2-4).
- GIDDINGS, J. L. Traces of Early Man on the North Bering Sea Coast (*University Museum Bulletin* (University of Pennsylvania), XIV (4), June, 1950, 2-13). An interesting description of archaeological work in the northern part of Bering Sea, work which has revealed a sequence of Eskimo occupations, of which the oldest appears to belong to one of the earliest movements of man to the New World.
- GUNTHER, ERNA. The Indian Background of Washington History (*Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XLI (3), July, 1950, 189-202). A well-balanced and accurate description of the Indians of Washington, written authoritatively, but in simple style. Cultural similarities to the Indians of British Columbia are noted.
- The Westward Movement of Some Plains Traits (*American Anthropologist*, LII (2), Apr.-June, 1950, 174-80). A careful study of the distribution, both

in time and space, of elements of Plains Indian material culture, especially in the field of costume.

- HANKS, LUCIEN M., Jr., and HANKS, JANE RICHARDSON. *Tribe under Trust: A Study of the Blackfoot Reserve in Alberta*. Photographs by F. GULLY. Toronto: University of Toronto Press-Saunders. 1950. Pp. xvi, 206. \$4.00. Reviewed in *C.H.R.*, XXXI (4), Dec., 1950, 427.
- HARCOURT, RAOUL D'. Epidémies chez les Eskimo (*Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, XXXVIII, 1949, 184-5).
- La tuberculose en régression chez les Indiens du Canada (*Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, XXXVIII, 1949, 185). Two brief news items, with no source given.
- HARDY, WILLIAM. The Wakius, or Nenwaqawa Totem (*Museum and Art Notes*, second series, I (3), Sept., 1950, 7). A brief description of the crests on a Kwakiutl totem-pole now standing in Stanley Park, Vancouver.
- HARRINGTON, LYN. The Cowichan Sweater (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XXXX (2), Feb., 1950, 94-7). A distinctive local industry has developed among the Salish Indians near Duncan, British Columbia, in the knitting of sweaters, largely of black sheep's wool.
- Haida Totems Rot in the Rain (*Forest and Outdoors*, XLV (11), Nov., 1949, 21-2).
- Last of the Haida Carvers (*Forest and Outdoors*, XLV (2), Feb., 1949, 10-11). Notes on the disappearance of the art of slate-carving among the Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands, and of the decay of totemic carvings in abandoned villages.
- and HARRINGTON, RICHARD. People Who Live in Snow Houses (*Forest and Outdoors*, XLV (3), March, 1949, 24-5). A brief, illustrated note on the Eskimo.
- HARRINGTON, M. R. The Huntley Eskimo Collection (*The Masterkey*, XXIII (6), Nov., 1949, 165-73). A description of a large archaeological collection from northwestern Alaska.
- HARRINGTON, RICHARD. Coppermine Patrol (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XXXXI (6), Dec., 1950, 256-69). An informative description of present-day Eskimo activities in winter in the Coronation Gulf area; it is illustrated with superb photographs.
- Dog Sled Journey (*The Beaver*, outfit 281, Dec., 1950, 32-9). A series of photographs of Eskimo travel by dog-sled.
- Journey in Arctic Quebec (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XXXXI, (2), Aug., 1950, 90-104). A popular article with good photographs of the Eskimo on the east side of Hudson Bay, and descriptions of some of their modern activities.
- People of the Snows (*The Beaver*, outfit 280, March, 1950, 16-21). A series of photographs of Eskimo from Port Harrison; the native costumes are beautifully illustrated.
- HATT, GUDMUND. *Asiatic Influences in American Folklore*. Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-Filologiske Meddelelser, XXXI (6). Copenhagen. 1949. Pp. 122. A distribution study of myths themes found in Asia and in North America, particularly in British Columbia.
- HEINE-GELDERN, R. VON. Cultural Connections between Asia and Pre-Columbian America (*Anthropos*, XLV (1-3), Jan.-June, 1950, 350-2). A summary of the views put forward at the 1949 International Congress of Americanists on pre-historic contacts between Asia and America. The evidence presented was based on physical, archaeological, linguistic, and ethnological similarities in the two continents; particularly striking are resemblances in the fields of art and folk-lore.

- HEINRICH, ALBERT. Some Present-day Acculturative Innovations in a Nonliterate Society (*American Anthropologist*, LII (2), Apr.-June, 1950, 235-42). A study of the development of the carving of walrus ivory, for the tourist trade, among the Eskimo of Little Diomed Island, Alaska, giving the dates and history of a number of the motifs.
- HERMAN, MARY W. A Reconstruction of Aboriginal Delaware Culture from Contemporary Sources (Kroeber Anthropological Society, *Papers*, I, Berkeley, 1950, 45-77). At the time of European contact, the Delawares lived in New Jersey and adjacent areas, but they were gradually driven westward until today many of their descendants live in Ontario.
- HODGE, F. W. An Eskimo Toboggan (*The Masterkey*, XXIV (6), Nov.-Dec., 1950, 193). A description of a St. Lawrence Island, Alaska, Eskimo toboggan made of baleen.
- HOLAND, HJALMAR RUED. The Newport Tower: Norse or English? (*American-Scandinavian Review*, XXXVII (3), autumn, 1949, 230-6). Careful measurements of the dimensions of the controversial stone tower at Newport, Rhode Island, show fractional numbers when measured in English linear feet, but whole numbers when computed in mediaeval linear feet. This is strong evidence that the building was not erected by seventeenth century English settlers.
- HONIGMANN, JOHN J. Culture Patterns and Human Stress (*Psychiatry*, XIII (1), Feb., 1950, 25-34). In every culture there are mechanisms which tend to cause personal stress, and others which tend to produce relief. Cultural impact tends to increase the tension upon the individual; a problem for the psychiatrist and the applied anthropologist is to utilize indigenous culture trends to lessen the difficulties of adjustment. This thesis is illustrated with examples from the Cree of James Bay and the Kaska of northern British Columbia and the Yukon.
- HOWELL, ELIZABETH. Lessons from the Arrowheads (*Museum and Art Notes*, second series, I (3), Sept., 1950, 10-11). A very popular description of the distribution and significance of Folsom points.
- HURT, WESLEY R., Jr. Artifacts from Shemya, Aleutian Islands (*American Antiquity*, XVI (1), July, 1950, 69). A note on a collection of stone implements from the island of Shemya, in the Aleutians, and their probable setting in the prehistory of that area.
- HYRCHENUK, STEPHEN. Ste Marie, Home of Peace, 1639-1649 (*Martyrs' Shrine Message*, XIV (2), June, 1950, 43-6; XIV (3), Oct., 1950, 67-9, 78-80). A useful summary of the reasons for the building of Ste Marie in 1639, and a year by year chronicle of its history until its abandonment in 1649.
- Indian Health Services (in Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, *Annual Report: Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1950*, Ottawa, King's Printer, 1950, 80-5). A well-balanced description of the medical services and facilities provided by the government for the Indians.
- INVERARITY, ROBERT BRUCE. *Art of the Northwest Coast Indians*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press [Toronto: Oxford University Press]. 1950. Pp. xvi, 243. \$12.00. See pp. 169-70.
- IZQUIERDO, E. M. Los desheredados de la fortuna (*América indígena*, X (4), oct., 1950, 301-7). A study of administration as carried out by the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs shows many points of resemblance to methods of administration in Latin American republics. A peculiar problem is that of small groups in the United States who have never come under Federal control, and whose status is, accordingly, uncertain.

- JACOBS, WILBUR R. *Diplomacy and Indian Gifts: Anglo-French Rivalry along the Ohio and Northwest Frontiers, 1748-1763*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. London and Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1950. Pp. 208. \$5.00. Reviewed in *C.H.R.*, XXXI (4), Dec., 1950, 427-8.
- Wampum, the Protocol of Indian Diplomacy (*William and Mary Quarterly*, VI, Oct., 1949, 596-604).
- Was the Pontiac Uprising a Conspiracy? (*Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, LIX (1), Jan., 1950, 26-37). A thoughtful article on the causes of the Indian War of 1763, and of the extent of Pontiac's leadership.
- JOSS, WILLIAM F. Sealing—New Style (*The Beaver*, outfit 280, March, 1950, 43-5). A description of a new technique in seal-hunting recently developed in the western Arctic.
- JURY, ELSIE McLEOD. A Guide to Archaeological Research in Ontario (*Ontario Library Review*, XXXIV (2), May, 1950, 123-33). In addition to its value as an all-inclusive bibliography of published material on Ontario archaeology, this article includes a brief outline of the history of the development of the subject in the province.
- JURY, WILFRID. Excavations at Fort Ste Marie during 1950 (*Martyrs' Shrine Message*, XIV (3), Oct., 1950, 60-1). Work at Ste Marie during 1950 disclosed a large building outside the fortifications, probably the Indian church, and a cemetery in which twelve graves have been found.
- KILLY, MONROE P. Some Early Forms of Iron Trade Axes (*Minnesota Archaeologist*, XV (4), Oct., 1949, 81-2). A note on different types of European iron axes used in trade with the Indians.
- KING, ARDEN R. *Cattle Point: A Stratified Site in the Southern Northwest Coast Region*. Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology, no. VII, supplement to *American Antiquity*, XV (4, part 2). Menasha, Wisconsin: Society for American Archaeology and the Tulane University of Louisiana. 1950. Pp. xii, 94. A detailed archaeological investigation of a site on San Juan Island, in San Juan de Fuca Strait, shows four periods of occupancy, with different types of implements and with different basic foods. The tool types are analysed and the resemblances to those found both to the north and south compared on a statistical basis. There is strong evidence of connections with prehistoric cultures of northern British Columbia.
- KURATH, GERTRUDE P. The Iroquois Ohgiwe Death Feast (*Journal of American Folklore*, LXIII (249), July-Sept., 1950, 361-2). A note on ritual singing and dancing, derived from pre-Christian ceremonies, among the modern Iroquois in Ontario.
- LACOURCIÈRE, LUC. Chansons de travestis (*Les archives de folklore*, IV, 1949 [1950], 87-93).
- Il est pourtant temps (*Les archives de folklore*, IV, 1949 [1950], 95-103). Studies of the text and music of folk-songs found both in France and the New World.
- LANTIS, MARGARET. Mme. Eskimo Proves Herself an Artist (*Natural History*, LIX (2), Feb., 1950, 68-71). Between 1920 and 1940 a new type of basketry was adopted by the Eskimo of Nunivak Island, Alaska, and with it there developed a new style of naturalistic art, practised by the women.
- The Reindeer Industry in Alaska (*Arctic*, III (1), April, 1950, 27-44). A description of the history of the introduction of reindeer to Alaska, of the difficulties of incorporating domesticated animals into the Eskimo way of life, with concrete suggestions for the future of the industry.

- Security for Alaskan Eskimos (*American Indian*, V (4), fall, 1950, 32-40). A thoughtful article on Eskimo problems in Alaska in the light of modern culture change.
- LARSEN, HELGE. Archaeological Investigations in Southwestern Alaska (*American Antiquity*, XV (3), Jan., 1950, 177-86). A brief archaeological reconnaissance in southwestern Alaska revealed distinct Eskimo cultures; the distribution of certain traits throws light on problems of the history of Eskimo migrations and culture growth.
- LATOURELLE, RENÉ. Liste des écrits de Saint Jean de Brébeuf (*R.H.A.F.*, III (1), juin, 1949, 141-7). In view of the importance to anthropologists of the data recorded by the Jesuit missionaries on the Hurons, this comprehensive listing of Brébeuf's writings is of considerable research value.
- Saint Jean de Brébeuf routier de la Huronie (*R.H.A.F.*, IV (3), Dec., 1950, 322-44). A description of Brébeuf's life and labours among the Huron Indians, culled largely from the Jesuit *Relations*, with many details of native beliefs and practices.
- LEACH, MARIA, ed. *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend*. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1949. Vol. I: A-I. Pp. xii, 531. 1950. Vol. II: J-Z. Pp. iii, 532-1196. These two volumes contain a mass of information on a wide range of folk-tales, beliefs, magic, and allied topics. It is an encyclopaedia rather than a dictionary, with informative paragraphs on prominent figures in folk-lore, on themes, as well as on such diverse subjects as *fasting*, the *Dalai Lama*, *sacrifice*, *shamrock*, and the *Flying Dutchman*—to give a few examples chosen at random. In addition to these shorter descriptions, primarily of reference value, there are a number of longer articles, including summaries of the folk-lore of the major areas of the world. The volumes have been carefully edited with the assistance of distinguished consultants and contributors. The set is an important aid to research.
- LEECHMAN, DOUGLAS. An Implement of Elephant Bone from Manitoba (*American Antiquity*, XVI (2), Oct., 1950, 157-60). A description of an artifact made of elephant bone found in Manitoba.
- Loucheux Tales (*Journal of American Folklore*, LXIII (248), Apr.-June, 1950, 158-62). A series of five Loucheux folk-tales collected at the village of Old Crow in the northern Yukon; they are a useful addition to knowledge of Athapaskan legends.
- Yukon Territory (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XXXX (6), June, 1950, 240-67). Contains excellent descriptions and photographs of the Indians of the region and their way of life.
- LEITCH, ADELAIDE. Village with a Mission—Nain, Labrador (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XXXX (3), March, 1950, 102-13). A popular article with photographs of Labrador Eskimo and a number of observations on their way of life.
- LUSSAGNET, SUZANNE. Bibliographie américaniste (*Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, XXXVIII, 1949, 191-281). This annual bibliography is the most extensive published, and is a valuable aid to research. It is divided into sections according to subject, and then subdivided on a regional basis.
- MACGOWAN, KENNETH. *Early Man in the New World*. New York: Macmillan Co. 1950. Pp. xviii, 260. Written in non-technical language, and planned for the layman, this is a brilliant summary of the coming of man to America. The author gives a well-balanced resumé based on extensive reading, with an intelligent understanding of the significance of early tools. He treats his subject

- broadly, including a chapter on Old World archaeology, realizing that the history of America cannot be understood without reference to the rest of the world. The illustrations are well chosen and informative.
- MACKAY, D. M. Indian Affairs Branch (in Canada, Department of Mines and Resources, *Annual Report: Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1949*, Ottawa, King's Printer, 1950, 189-218). The annual report of the Indian Affairs Branch gives, each year, a clear and—within the limits of space—a comprehensive report on conditions among the Indians. Information is given in statistical form on such matters as population, education, health, and economics, but there is also a brief, but valuable, summary of general trends in the way of life of the Indians in the different provinces. It is an important document, showing the way in which the government is carrying out its responsibility to the Indians.
- McKELVIE, BRUCE A. *Tales of Conflict*. Vancouver: The Vancouver Province. 1949. Pp. vii, 99. A popularly written description of eighteen fights, or near-fights, between white and Indian in British Columbia.
- McKENTY, NEIL. Huronia's Holy Grail of St. Ignace (*Martyrs' Shrine Message*, XIV (1), March, 1950, 20-1). A note on the successful search for the site of St. Ignace, scene of the martyrdom of Brébeuf and Lalement.
- McNICKLE, D'ARCY. *They Came Here First*. Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1949. Pp. 325. Written for the general reader, this is a well-balanced and accurate description of the Indians of America, with particular emphasis on problems of adjustment in the last century.
- MALLET, THIERRY. Exploring the Kazan (*The Beaver*, outfit 280, March, 1950, 22-5). Recollections of an exploration of the Kazan River, with a few illustrations of, and anecdotes concerning, the inland Eskimo.
- MANDELBAUM, DAVID G., ed. *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1949. Pp. xv, 617. The late Edward Sapir, one of the greatest anthropologists of this century, contributed outstanding papers in the fields of language, of culture growth, and of culture and personality. The editor has brought together a selection of these, together with a bibliography of Sapir's writings. Of particular importance to Canadian readers are his articles on British Columbia Indian linguistics and social structure, as well as his analysis of the possibilities of culture contact in *Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture*. The volume is a fitting tribute to a great scholar.
- MANNING, T. H. Eskimo Stone Houses in Foxe Basin (*Arctic*, III (2), Aug., 1950, 108-12). A brief note on the occurrence, distribution, and types of Eskimo stone house ruins in Foxe Basin.
- MARSH, DONALD B. White Whales in the Arctic (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XXXI (1), July, 1950, 34-40). A description, with beautiful photographs, of beluga hunting by the Eskimo, and of the use made of the animal.
- MARTIN, FREDERICKA. Three Years of Pribilof Progress (*American Indian*, V (3), Spring, 1950, 17-29). A study of changes that have taken place in the last three years in regulations concerning the Aleut inhabitants of the Pribilof Islands, together with an abridged version of a government report on the islands.
- A Mask of the Iroquois False-Face Company (*The Masterkey*, XXIV (1), Jan.-Feb., 1950, 23). A note on, and illustration of, an Iroquois mask.
- MERFIELD, R. C. Red Men's Pow-wow (*The Beaver*, outfit 281, Dec., 1950, 23-5). An eye-witness's recollection of a conference held in 1913 with the Indians of northern Saskatchewan to attempt to arrange a treaty for the cession of their lands.

- MIKKELSEN, EJNAR. The Eskimo of East Greenland: Past and Present (*Scottish Geographical Magazine*, LXIV (1), 1948, 16-24).
- MORTON, W. L. The Canadian Métis (*The Beaver*, outfit 281, Sept., 1950, 3-7). This is more than an extended review of Giraud's *Le Métis canadien*; it is a brilliant summary of the history of the French-Indian half-breeds of the western Plains, based upon that monumental volume which has already been cited in this bibliography.
- The Native Voice* (IV (1-12), Jan.-Dec., 1950, monthly.) Vancouver: Native Voice Publishing Co., 429 Standard Building. 10 cents per issue. This monthly newspaper, edited by Indians for Indians, continues to publish items of news which show the activities as well as the changing interests of the Indians of today. Planned originally for the Indians of British Columbia, *The Native Voice* has printed a considerable amount of material on tribes of the prairies and of eastern Canada during the current year.
- NEWCOMB, W. W., Jr. A Re-examination of the Causes of Plains Warfare (*American Anthropologist*, LII (3), July-Sept., 1950, 317-30). The basic causes of warfare among the Plains Indians are shown to be tribal displacement and competition, factors of an economic and historical basis. The assumption that warfare on the Plains was an orderly form of "game" is fallacious.
- NEWMAN, MARSHALL T. The Blond Mandan: A Critical Review of an Old Problem (*Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, VI (3), autumn, 1950, 255-72). A theory, strongly supported by Catlin, affirmed that the Mandan of North Dakota were a tribe of blonde Indians, whose fair skins and culture traits proved their descent from pre-Columbian Welsh ancestors. Study of the available data indicates that any light-skinned characteristics were due to individual variation, and to post-Columbian contact, not to prehistoric mixture.
- NOON, JOHN A. *Law and Government of the Grand River Iroquois*. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, no. 12. New York: Viking Fund. 1949. Pp. 186. Reviewed, *C.H.R.*, XXXI (1), March, 1950, 78-9.
- Northwest Territories and Yukon Services (in Canada, Department of Mines and Resources, *Annual Report: Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1949*, Ottawa, King's Printer, 1950, 138-52). This report contains a certain amount of information on education and health measures affecting the natives of the Northwest Territories and the Yukon.
- O'LOUGHLIN, KATHLEEN. *Yarmouth Stone*. St. Catharines, Ont.; St. Catharines Standard. 1949. Pp. 56. An uncritical, but interesting description of a stone at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, with an inscription which the author believes to be in Welsh. She brings forward considerable evidence concerning ninth century Welsh voyages to the New World.
- OLSON, RONALD L. Black Market in Prerogatives among the Northern Kwakiutl (Kroeber Anthropological Society, *Papers*, I, Berkeley, 1950, 78-80). At the present time there are only about twenty survivors of the Rivers Inlet Kwakiutl, once the most populous of all the Kwakiutl groups. Consequently, they are the legal owners of many hereditary prerogatives, which they cannot assume due to poverty and cultural decay. In theory these are never sold, but in actual fact many have passed illegally to members of adjacent tribes.
- PALMER, VIOLET. Customs of the Mountain Goat Kin (*Museum and Art Notes*, second series, I (3), Sept., 1950, 23-5).
- The Eagle People (*Museum and Art Notes*, second series, I (3), Sept., 1950, 26-7).

- An Indian Tale of Sacrifice (*Museum and Art Notes*, second series, I (3), Sept., 1950, 20-2).
- Skqomic Legend of the Rain Man (*Museum and Art Notes*, second series, I (3), Sept., 1950, 28-9). A collection of British Columbia Indian legends recorded in popular form.
- PATERSON, T. T. The Eskimo of Northern Canada (*United Empire*, XLI (2), March-April, 1950, 71-3). A brief and very general description of the Eskimo and their way of life, with observations on the role of the missionary, the police, and the trader.
- PAULSON, IVAR. Über ein Prototyp des Fangspiels in Nordamerika und im prähistorischen Europa (*Ethnos*, XIV (2-4), April-Dec., 1949, 140-8). Resemblances between perforated phalangial bones excavated from prehistoric sites in Europe and Ontario may be due to cultural survivals from an early culture drift from the Old World to the New.
- POPHAM, ROBERT E. A Bibliography and Historical Review of Physical Anthropology in Canada: 1848-1949 (*Revue canadienne de biologie*, IX (2), mai 1950, 175-98). In addition to its value as a finding list of articles, often in obscure journals, this bibliography is important for its summaries of the work in different areas. This article is a significant aid to research workers.
- Late Huron Occupations of Ontario: An Archaeological Survey of Innisfil Township (*Ontario History*, XLII (2), April, 1950, 81-90). By a comprehensive plotting of sites and a comparison of archaeological material, it appears probable that Innisfil Township in Simcoe County, south of the usually accepted Huron boundary, was occupied by Hurons, or people closely related to them, at the time of French contact. Written evidence is entirely lacking on this point. The author uses an ingenious method to estimate the probable size of the population.
- POUNARD, ALFRED. Le folklore pris sur le vif (*Journal of American Folklore*, LXIII (248), April-June, 1950, 185-91). A preliminary report on the origin of French folk-tales found in Canada and in Louisiana, and of the resemblances between them.
- PRICE, A. GRENFELL. *White Settlers and Native Peoples: An Historical Study of Racial Contacts between English-speaking Whites and Aboriginal Peoples in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand*. Melbourne: Georgian House; Cambridge: At the University Press [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada]. 1950. Pp. x, 232. \$5.25. Reviewed C.H.R., XXXII (1), March, 1951.
- RILOUX, MARCEL. Contes populaires canadiens (huitième série) (*Journal of American Folklore*, LXIII (248), April-June, 1950, 199-230). A collection of French-Canadian tales, recorded in different parts of Quebec.
- Folk and Folklore (*Journal of American Folklore*, LXIII (248), April-June, 1950, 192-8). A thoughtful article on the scope of folk-lore, with particular reference to French Canada.
- RITCHIE, WILLIAM A. Archaeological Explorations in Canada (*Museum Service* (Rochester, N.Y.), XXII (4), 1949, 42-3). A preliminary report on field work in Ontario.
- ROBSON, EBENEZER. A Great Sea Fight (*Museum and Art Notes*, second series, I (3), Sept., 1950, 8-9). A very popular rendering of an Indian's description of a battle between northern and Vancouver Island Indian tribes. The fight is supposed to have occurred in pre-European times; the tradition was recorded in 1863.

- RODAHL, KÅRE. Arctic Nutrition (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XXXX (2), Feb., 1950, 52-60). This study of nutrition needs in the Arctic includes remarks on Eskimo diet.
- ROGERS, EDWARD S. and ROGERS, MURRAY H. Archaeological Investigations in the Region about Lakes Mistassini and Albanel, Province of Quebec, 1948 (*American Antiquity*, XV (4), April, 1950, 322-37). Archaeological work in the little-known Mistassini area on the height of land between the St. Lawrence and James Bay resulted in the finding of 121 prehistoric sites. An excellent description and classification of the artifacts recovered throws light on prehistoric cultural connections in that area.
- ROUSSEAU, MADELEINE and ROUSSEAU, JACQUES. Charms et merveilleux (*Les archives de folklore*, IV, 1949 [1950], 77-85). A collection of charms, remedies, "superstitions," and popular beliefs from the province of Quebec.
- ROWLEY, GRAHAM. An Unusual Archaeological Specimen from Foxe Basin (*Arctic*, III (1), April, 1950, 63-5). The author describes a toggle made of walrus tooth, obtained from an Eskimo at Igloolik, and probably found on the east coast of Melville Peninsula. It appears to have elements of both Dorset and Thule culture.
- ROY, CARMEN. Contes populaires de la Gaspésie (*Les archives de folklore*, IV, 1949 [1950], 105-27). Two folk-tales collected from the French-Canadian fisher-folk of the Gaspé peninsula.
- SARGENT, MARGARET. Seven Songs from Lorette (*Journal of American Folklore*, LXIII (248), April-June, 1950, 175-80). In 1911 Marius Barbeau recorded on wax cylinders a number of Huron songs from an old man of Lorette, perhaps the last to remember any of the melodies of his people. Seven of these songs, all used to accompany non-sacred dances, have been transcribed with their music.
- SCHAEFFER, CLAUDE E. Bird Nomenclature and Principles of Avian Taxonomy of the Blackfoot Indians (*Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, XL (2), Feb., 1950, 37-46). An interesting study of bird names, and their meanings, among the Blackfoot of Montana and Alberta.
- SEWELL, J. H. Archaeological Remains in Central British Columbia (*Anthropology in British Columbia*, I, 1950, 28-32). A preliminary description of material recovered from sites, usually "pit camps," along the Nechako River in central British Columbia.
- SHAW, E. M. The Story of Kitsilano (*Museum and Art Notes*, second series, I (3), Sept., 1950, 30-1). A note on the origin of the place-name, Kitsilano, near Vancouver.
- SHESTRONE, HENRY C. Aboriginal Art of the Eastern United States (*Art Quarterly*, 1948, 307-22).
- SIEBER, S. A. *The Saulteaux Indians*. St. Boniface, Manitoba: The Provincial House, 340 Provencher Ave. 1948. Pp. 160. Written primarily for the missionaries of the Oblate Order, this is a summary of the life of the Saulteaux, the western Ojibwa of the Ontario-Manitoba border, with emphasis on their personality and patterns of culture.
- SMITH, MARIAN W. *Archaeology of the Columbia-Fraser Region*. Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology, no. VI, supplement to *American Antiquity*, XV (4, part 2). Menasha, Wisconsin: Society for American Archaeology and Columbia University. 1950. Pp. viii, 46. Based largely on archaeological material from two sites, one on northern Puget Sound and the other near Agassiz, British Columbia, the author analyses types of archaeological specimens, shows the

development of several cultures, and indicates the complex pattern of pre-historic interactions in this region.

- The Nooksack, the Chilliwack, and the Middle Fraser (*Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XLI (4), Oct., 1950, 330-41). The Nooksack were a small tribe formerly living on a tributary of the middle Fraser, on the Washington-British Columbia border. Today they have virtually disappeared. The author summarizes their culture and points out some of the problems of its origin.
- SOLECKI, RALPH S. New Data on the Inland Eskimo of Northern Alaska (*Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, XL (5), May, 1950, 137-57). The Eskimo of the interior of northern Alaska have almost disappeared within the last century, only seventy or eighty individuals surviving. This is a summary of their culture, based on meagre published material, and supplemented by archaeological material collected from forty-two sites in the area.
- A Preliminary Report of an Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Kukpowruk and Kokolik Rivers in Northwest Alaska (*American Antiquity*, XVI (1), July, 1950, 66-9). This preliminary report on archaeological survey work in North-western Alaska shows evidence of early migration routes from Asia to America.
- Some New Rindisbachers (*The Beaver*, outfit 281, June, 1950, 14-15). Three recently discovered water-colours by Rindisbacher portray incidents of Indian life as seen by the artist in Manitoba about 1823.
- SPECK, FRANK G. Concerning Iconology and the Masking Complex in Eastern North America (*University Museum Bulletin* (University of Pennsylvania), XV (1), July, 1950, 6-57). Masks were used by the Indians of eastern America from Labrador to Carolina. This scholarly study of their types and functions, however, indicates that they did not belong to a single complex.
- and BECK, H. P. Old World Tales among the Mohawks (*Journal of American Folklore*, LXIII (249), July-Sept., 1950, 285-308). Among folk-tales collected from the Mohawk are included a number of European origin, some partly adapted to Mohawk usage; this is an interesting example of culture integration.
- STANLEY, GEORGE F. G. The First Indian "Reserves" in Canada (*R.H.A.F.*, IV (2), sept., 1950, 178-210). The earliest Indian "reserves" in Canada were areas in Quebec set aside in the seventeenth century for Indian groups with the hope that conversion to Christianity would be simplified by the adoption of agriculture and sedentary life. Though these attempts were largely unsuccessful, they had an important bearing on the history of interactions between white and Indian.
- The Indians in the War of 1812 (*C.H.R.*, XXXI (2), June, 1950, 145-65). An interesting and scholarly study of the part played by Indians in the War of 1812. The western Indians, allies of the British, were a deciding factor in British victories on the Detroit River; the Six Nations, feeling that they had been abandoned in 1783, were less eager, but supplied forces that were of importance in campaigns in the Niagara Peninsula.
- The Policy of "Francisation" as Applied to the Indians during the Ancien Régime (*R.H.A.F.*, III (3), déc. 1949, 333-48). It was assumed by the French in the seventeenth century that the Indians could easily be led into adopting the manners and customs of the French, particularly by educating Indian children. This policy led to repeated failures; indeed there was a definite trend in the other direction, through young Frenchmen taking to the woods and living with, and as, Indians.
- STIRLING, MATTHEW W. Nomads of the Far North (*National Geographic Magazine*, XCVI (4), Oct., 1949, 471-504). This is an accurate and well-balanced de-

- scription of the life of the northern peoples of Canada and Alaska, Eskimo, Algonkian Indians, and Athapaskan Indians. The excellence of the verbal account is enhanced by well-chosen photographs, and by the vivid paintings of LANGDON KIHN.
- STOLYHWO, KAZIMIERZ. Szlaki imigracyjne człowieka na kontynent Ameryki (*Przegląd antropologiczny*, XVI (4), 1950, 300-11). A study of the prehistoric migration of man to the New World.
- TALBOT, FRANCIS XAVIER. *Saint among the Hurons: The Life of Jean de Brébeuf*. New York: Harper and Brothers [Toronto: Musson Book Co.]. 1949. Pp. 351. This dramatic biography of Brébeuf contains numerous descriptions of the Hurons and their practices. Reviewed, *C.H.R.*, XXXI (3), Sept., 1950, 311-12.
- TANTAQUIDGEON, GLADYS. Delaware Indian Art Designs (*Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, XX (1-2), Jan.-June, 1950, 24-30). A well-illustrated summary of the art motifs surviving among the descendants of the Delaware Indians.
- THALBITZER, WILLIAM. A note on the derivation of the word "Eskimo" (*inuit*) (*American Anthropologist*, LII (4, part 1), Oct.-Dec., 1950, 564). The author believes that the origin of the word *Eskimo* comes from *Excomminguois*, a term applied to the pagan neighbours of the northeastern Algonkians by the Jesuit missionaries, a word derived, of course, from the Latin *excommunicati*.
- On the Eskimo Language (Congreso internacional de Americanistas, XXVI (Seville 1935), *Trabajos*, II, Madrid, 1948, 403-6). Although the Eskimo language does not appear to be genetically related to any other, it appears to have adopted certain loan words from various Indo-European sources.
- THOMPSON, LAURA. Personality and Government (*América indígena*, X (1), enero, 1950, 7-43; X (2), abril, 1950, 135-78; X (3), julio, 1950, 233-61; X (4), oct., 1950, 335-63). The four papers cited here are instalments of the final report on what is probably the most intensive study ever attempted in the field of administration of a native population. In 1941 the United States Indian Service, in conjunction with the University of Chicago's interdepartmental committee on Human Development, and later with the Society for Applied Anthropology, initiated a long-range study of Indian personality in relation to administration. Six years were spent on the study; as many as fifty scientists were employed at times, as well as Indians and members of the administrative staff. Psychological, psychiatric, and medical techniques were used, and intensive training was given both to Indians and administrators, aiming to make the research project one of participation as well as of direct governmental and educational value. The study may be regarded as an illustration of scientific method in the field of government administration of minority groups and, as such, is worthy of study in Canada.
- TREMBLAY, MAURICE. Nous irons jouer dans l'isle (*Journal of American Folklore*, LXIII (248), Apr.-June, 1950, 163-70). A collection of traditional parlor games collected at Ile Verte, an isolated community in the lower St. Lawrence.
- UHLENBECK, C. C. Zu einzelnen Eskimowörtern (*Anthropos*, XLV (1-3), Jan.-June, 1950, 177-82). A critical study of the distribution and variations of certain Eskimo words.
- VICKERS, CHRIS. Man's Best Friend (*Northern Sportsman*, V (12), Dec., 1950, 10-11, 28-9). An interesting, popular description of the varied uses of the dog by the Indians of North America.
- Shell Object from Manitoba (*American Antiquity*, XVI (2), Oct., 1950, 164). A description of an unusual shell implement from Manitoba.

- VOEGELIN, C. F. Magnetic Recording of American Indian Languages and the Relationship of This to Other Kinds of Memory (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCIV (3), June 20, 1950, 295-300). A study of the use of mechanical devices in recording Indian languages.
- VOEGELIN, ERMINIE W. North American Indian Folklore (in LEACH, MARIA, ed., *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend*, New York, Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1950, II, 798-802). A valuable survey article comprising an analysis of the main types of folk-tales and their functions among the American Indians. Songs, riddles, and dramatic elements are also considered.
- WALLACE, ANTHONY F. C. *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1949. Pp. xiv, 305. In this biography of a prominent eighteenth-century Delaware chief, the author brings out the struggles and problems of culture change and of contact, as the white man displaced the Indians in eastern North America. It is an important contribution to understanding the Delaware, many of whose descendants live in Ontario.
- Some Psychological Characteristics of the Delaware Indians during the 17th and 18th Centuries (*Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, XX (1-2), Jan.-June, 1950, 33-9). An analysis of Delaware psychological traits, as revealed by extracts from early writers, shows many resemblances to the modern Ojibwa of western Ontario.
- WEBSTER, J. H. Eskimos Glaze Their Sled Runners (*Natural History*, LIX (1), Jan., 1950, 36-7).
- Fishing under the Ice (*Natural History*, LIX (3), March, 1950, 140-1). Brief notes, with excellent photographs, of winter activities among the Eskimo of Coronation Gulf.
- WEITENKAMPF, FRANK. *Early Pictures of North America Indians, a Question of Ethnology*. New York: New York Public Library. 1950. Pp. 26.
- WILLEY, GORDON R. Separate Migrations as an Explanation of the Physical Variability among American Indians (*Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, XL (3), March 15, 1950, 71-5). Physical variations among American Indian groups are due in part to differences that had developed in Asia before their ancestors migrated from that continent; there is a limited correlation between physical types and elements of culture, including linguistic.
- WILSON, EDDIE W. The Owl and the American Indian (*Journal of American Folklore*, LXIII (249), July-Sept., 1950, 336-44). A compilation of Indian beliefs concerning the owl, a bird often regarded as an omen and also as a source of power.
- WINTENBERG, W. J. *Folk-lore of Waterloo Country, Ontario*. Canada, Department of Resources and Development, Development Services Branch, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin no. 116, Anthropological series, 28. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1950. Pp. viii, 68. This is one of the few studies of the folk-lore of a Canadian group of European origin, other than French. The material presented consists of popular beliefs concerning natural phenomena, animals and plants, omens, games, rhymes, magical practices, and a few folk-tales, collected by the late W. J. Wintenberg among settlers of German ancestry in Waterloo County.
- WINTHER, P. C. *et al.* A Preliminary Account of the Danish Pearyland Expedition (*Arctic*, III (1), April, 1950, 3-13). Included in this article is a brief description of archaeological material from northern Greenland.
- WORMINGTON, H. M., with an appendix by ANTEVS, ERNST. *Ancient Man in North America*. Revised edition. Denver Museum of Natural History, Popular Series, no. 4. Denver: Denver Museum of Natural History. 1949. Pp. 198. An admirable popular description of the early history of man in the New World.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

REGINALD GEORGE TROTTER, 1888-1951

Tribute of a few lines to the distinguished man now lost to learning by the death of Reginald Trotter is only a modest and inadequate gesture, a minor protest against mortality. It can hardly be more than a lament, not the less poignant for being brief, which ought merely to precede the more measured appraisal due to the life's work of a scholar and teacher both eminent and beloved. His cutting off in the prime of his career, at the early age of sixty-three, with the wealth of his intellectual harvest not yet all garnered, was as sharp a blow to friends near at hand, who had witnessed the set-back in his health, as to those at a distance, who could still think of him as preserving, in his remarkable way, a youthfulness of appearance always greener than his actual years. His loss leaves an unfinished chapter in Canadian historiography, and an empty place in the fellowship of university teachers both in Canada and abroad. Our country is bereft of a fine Canadian, though his compatriots will take comfort in knowing that some part of what he had to give to our intellectual life lives on through the generations of his students. Such men are rare, but it is one of society's compensations for their rarity that they multiply themselves by their influence on others, and that their influence outruns their lives.

The nation's indebtedness to Trotter lies in his devotion for over a quarter of a century to historical studies and teaching at Queen's University, where he was to succeed the late Duncan McArthur in the Douglas Chair of Canadian and Colonial History, a succession going back through J. L. Morison to W. L. Grant, the first to be appointed on the endowment of the Chair in 1910. His conception of Canadian history, as set forth in the early twenties in his foundation study of *Canadian Federation*, grew out of the propositions "that British North America, in producing the Dominion of Canada, set the example for the establishment of free national governments in the Britains overseas," and "that she has been the principal exponent of the idea that such governments can maintain their essential autonomy and at the same time retain membership in the larger British commonwealth." It was the essence of his teaching that "From this idea it is but a step, if a long one, to the reconciliation of national autonomy with the necessities of international co-operation and organisation on a larger, even a world-wide scale." His nationalism was none the less Canadian than that of critics who thought it too British, his North Americanism none the less neighbourly for his being a critic of some aspects of Americanism. As an internationalist he was never misled by the futilities of isolationism, and while insisting on the historic necessity of our ties with Britain, and through Britain and France with Western Europe, he was a chief mover in the fruitful series of biennial conferences on Canadian-American relations, an enterprise for which (amidst all the rest of his work) he might well have been given more generous recognition than he received.

His ideas on the political evolution of *The Empire-Commonwealth* he published under that title in the form of a masterly historical summary. His thought on history and policy he cast in an important body of occasional writing. All his professional work had a scholar's competence and the sinew of intellectual conviction. Though to a degree, perhaps, meticulous, his mind

was perceptive, its sensitivity acute, its range wide, its capacity creative. He lived his life in faithfulness and he faced calamity with a courage that fulfilled the gentleness of his spirit.

One thinks of the words spoken by Bishop Gore on the philosopher, Henry Sidgwick, and revived by R. F. Harrod in his life of Keynes: "But, of course, it was impossible to know him without feeling that incomparably the most impressive thing about him was his character. . . . When I came away from the last interview with him . . . there was only one thought which came to my mind, in which I seemed able to sum up and express the impression which was left upon me, and it was the most sacred of all promises—'Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God.'" The memory of Reginald Trotter deserves to be cherished in the country whose political wisdom was his life's concern. [ERIC HARRISON]

ROBERT GERALD RIDDELL, 1908-1951

The death of Robert Gerald Riddell without warning on March 16, 1951 brought a deep sense of loss and shock not only to Canadians, but throughout the United Nations Organization, and in the diplomatic circles of many countries. Seldom in like circumstances have so many spontaneous tributes of affection and admiration come from so many quarters. To those who knew "Gerry" this was no surprise. True he had been prominent in the public eye only since the previous June when he was appointed Canada's Permanent Delegate to the United Nations, and even before that he had been in the Department of External Affairs only since 1942, when for a time he seemed to have almost a genius for anonymity. Into that short space Gerald Riddell had, however, poured a lifetime of unstinting devotion coupled with a rare combination of qualities of heart and mind peculiarly suited to the baffling problems with which he had to deal. As he moved into the critical months of the winter of 1950-1 at Lake Success the full measure of those qualities was revealed. With Gerald Riddell peace and human welfare were not mere abstractions but ideals to be pursued with unfaltering patience, deep conviction, and every ounce of intelligence that could be brought to bear upon them; and, if there was also lightness of spirit, as there always was, it was that of the good warrior who without carrying his heart on his sleeve never doubts that victory can be grasped in the end by sincerity and high purpose in spite of every difficulty and frustration. In an age which suspects the crusader but sorely needs him at his best, Gerald Riddell always rang true. It was this above all which commanded the admiration and affection of all who knew him.

For eight years, 1934-42, as a member of the Department of History of the University of Toronto, "Gerry" belonged to the fraternity of historical scholars in Canada. For several years he edited the *Report* of the Canadian Historical Association, and for a time was a member of the editorial board of this *Review*, to which he also contributed as an author. He was a contributor to the volume of *Essays in Canadian History* published in honour of Professor G. M. Wrong, and was the editor of *Canadian Portraits*, a small volume of biographical studies. Had he remained in academic life he would have made significant contributions to Canadian historical writing. His heart was, however, in teaching. People mattered, and what they thought and believed mattered tremendously. This, the conviction of all true teachers, he

carried through his academic years and to the end of his career in the public service. [GEORGE W. BROWN]

THE ARCHIVES OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

On March 10, 1951, Sir Patrick Ashley Cooper, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist, announced in a press release that the huge task of microfilming the Company's archives—more than 200 years of reports, records, and correspondence, representing in large measure the history of western and northwestern Canada before Confederation—was being undertaken jointly by the Company and the Public Archives of Canada.

All surviving records dating from the earliest times to 1870 will be photographed. Included are such items as the Minute Books, which have been preserved in a virtually unbroken series commencing in 1671; the voluminous reports and correspondence of Sir George Simpson, chief representative of the Company in Canada during the important period from 1821 to 1860; and all extant fort journals and district letter books. The collection as a whole includes thousands of bound volumes and portfolios of loose papers numbering in all several million pages.

The negative films, which will be stored in vaults in Canada, will provide a safeguard against the irreparable loss to scholars and others which would be occasioned by accidental destruction of the original documents. Positive prints will be filed in the Public Archives in Ottawa, where research workers will be able to consult them without making the expensive journey to Britain.

The archives of the Hudson's Bay Company comprise by far the largest and most valuable collection of material relating to the history of Canada outside the official archives of Great Britain, France, and the Dominion itself. Detailed attention was first directed to them about 1920, when the Company, which received its original charter in 1670, was celebrating its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary. In 1927, upon the completion of Hudson's Bay House in Bishopsgate, the archives were given specially equipped quarters, and the work of gathering, arranging, and cataloguing them proceeded rapidly thereafter. In 1938 the Company sponsored the organization of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, which, in co-operation with the Champlain Society, has issued twelve volumes in the last dozen years.

INSTITUT D'HISTOIRE DE L'AMÉRIQUE FRANÇAISE

The fourth annual meeting of the Institut d'Histoire de l'Amérique française was held in Montreal on April 14, 1951. Among the papers read and discussed were studies by Professor Frégault (Montreal) and Professor Trudel (Laval) entitled "D'une opinion de Toynbee sur l'histoire de la Nouvelle France," and "De l'objectivité en histoire—sa nature, sa nécessité, ses limites." The closing session was in the form of a banquet at the Windsor Hotel, at which Canon Lionel Groulx gave his annual report as President of the Institute. The other speakers on the occasion of the banquet were Professor George F. G. Stanley (Royal Military College) and Professor Victor Barbeau (Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales).

It was announced that the 1952 annual meeting of the Institut d'Histoire de l'Amérique française would take place in Quebec City.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES

1. *University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology*

The Museum of Anthropology is continuing its work at Killarney, Ontario, at several sites which are on former beaches of Lake Huron raised by the post-glacial up-tilting of the Great Lakes basin. These are the first raised beaches on the Great Lakes upon which human cultural material has been found. They have been dated by geological means at 10,000 to 15,000, 2600, and about 1400 years of age respectively. On all three the cultural material deposited during the formation of the beach shows a consistent sequence of development. These sites have been worked by the University of Michigan since 1938, and the project continues under Dr. Emerson F. Greenman.

2. *The National Museum of Canada*

Dr. Douglas Leechman has reported on projected field plans for the coming summer, which include work in the kitchen middens of the Vancouver area by Dr. Carl Borden of the University of British Columbia, in the British Columbia dry belt by Dr. Leechman, along the Mackenzie River from Great Slave Lake towards the mouth by Dr. Richard S. MacNeish, in southwestern Manitoba by Dr. Bird and Mr. Chris Vickers, and in the Newfoundland area by Mr. Elmer Harp.

3. *The University of Western Ontario*

The second Summer School of Indian Archaeology will be held from July 3 to 14 at Fort Ste Marie, Midland, Ontario, offering preliminary studies for students interested in archaeological field work.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

W. S. MACNUTT is Associate Professor of History at the University of New Brunswick.

Colonel C. P. STACEY is Director of the Historical Section at Canadian Army Headquarters, Ottawa. He is author of *Canada and the British Army, 1846-1871* (1936), *The Military Problems of Canada* (1940), and *The Canadian Army, 1939-1945* (1948).

Lieutenant COLIN RHYS LOVELL is Assistant Professor of History, on military service leave from the University of Southern California.

D. J. McDUGALL is Associate Professor of History at the University of Toronto.

